EVERY WEEK SINCE 1865

THE Nation

DECEMBER 24, 1955

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PROBERS AND THE PRESS

by Melvin L. Barnet

Can We Limit An "A-War"?

by Mark S. Watson

End of a German Era

by Carolus

Sean O'Casey's World

by Allan Lewis

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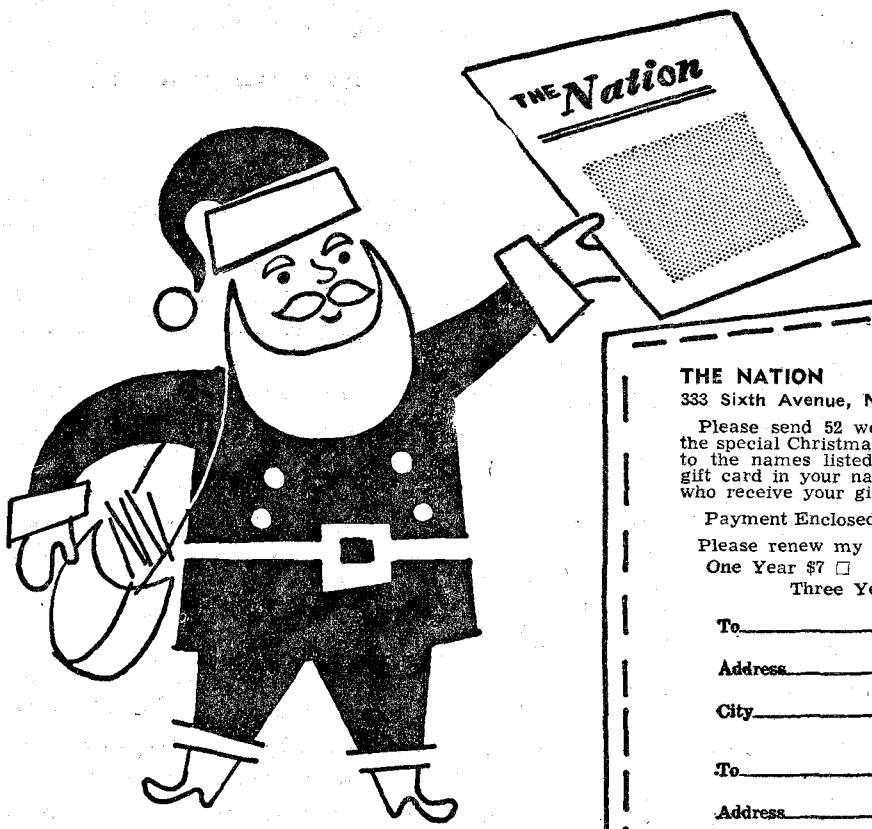

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NEW YORK, SATURDAY, DECEMBER 24, 1955
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THE Nation
EVERY WEEK SINCE 1865

Victory for the U.N.; Defeat for the U.S.

THE ADMISSION December 14 of sixteen new U. N. members was clearly a victory for the principle of universality, and thus for the United Nations as such. It was a diplomatic coup for the Soviet Union, which will claim credit for the achievement. The Nationalists on Formosa, precipitating the defeat of the larger New Zealand-Brazil proposal covering eighteen nations by its veto of Outer Mongolia, took a step which is best described as suicidal. And the United States suffered a diplomatic debacle for which Henry Cabot Lodge, Jr., and John Foster Dulles must bear full responsibility. (Incidentally, it would seem that India should get much credit for the sixteen-nation deal. According to Senator Flanders of Vermont, visiting in New Delhi, the sequence was as follows: After the collapse of the original eighteen-nation resolution Krishna Menon, India's representative at the U. N., cabled Premier Nehru. He in turn prevailed upon Khrushchev and Bulganin, who were still in India then, to order the Soviet delegation to propose the "package deal" which excluded Outer Mongolia and Japan.)

Consider the circumstances leading up to this dramatic *coup de theatre.* The question of new members was of long standing: no applicant had won admittance since 1950. In those five years, the U. S. S. R. had consistently vetoed the applications of candidates supported by the West, insisting that its own candidates would have to be accepted at the same time; and the U. S., on its part, had as adamantly opposed any such "package deal."

It was therefore old stuff when Molotov suggested, in his opening speech to this session of the General Assembly, that sixteen nations be admitted in a package deal. But by now general sentiment had built up for breaking the deadlock. The Canadians suggested that Japan might well be added to the list. Moscow had previously opposed Tokyo's candidacy, arguing that the U. S. S. R. and Japan were still technically at war. Now they offered no opposition. Then on September 26 Spain applied for membership, and Ambassador Lodge promptly announced that the U. S. would support its candidacy.

By a standing U. N. resolution Spain was specifically barred from membership for so long as the "Franco Fascist government" might remain in power. The bloody Franco regime could hardly be termed either peace-loving, democratic or representative of the people of Spain. The U. S. nevertheless had entered upon military deals with Franco and now supported his cause—even where it appeared that the move might stop the package deal.

Unexpectedly the nations concerned—including the Soviet Union—failed to balk even at Spain, and the Canadians formulated a resolution to authorize the entry of eighteen new nations. But on November 10 the U. S. informed Canada that it would not agree to the proposed package deal, explaining that it opposed the candidacy of Outer Mongolia.

The Latin Americans, desirous of having Italy, Portugal and Spain in the U. N., deserted the American camp. On November 12 it was reported that Britain stood ready to give blanket support for the entry of all eighteen applicants. The next day, Lodge flip-flopped and told the press that the U. S. would abstain from voting on the applications of Albania, Bulgaria, Hungary and Rumania. He added: "It is obvious that Outer Mongolia cannot make the grade," explaining that his soundings of opinion in other delegations had led him to that conclusion. But the U. S. had finally ended its long opposition to the admission of new members en bloc. On November 14 a Soviet spokesman, looking at Lodge's press conference of the day before, said flatly, "It is eighteen or nothing."

IN THIS critical situation Nationalist China, the U.S.'s protege, came forward to announce that "if necessary" it would veto the application of Outer Mongolia in the Security Council. The world was told that Chiang Kai-shek had made this decision despite the earnest urging of President Eisenhower not to block the package deal. The world was left to assume that Mr. Lodge, who had committed his prestige to barring the entry of Outer Mongolia, was definitely not trying to play Chiang's game.

The cream of the jest lay in the circumstances that the Chinese Nationalist government on January 5, 1946, had extended full diplomatic recognition to the Mongolian People's Republic (Outer Mongolia); and that the voting of August 29, 1946, in the Security Council on Outer Mongolia's membership application was six to three in favor—with the U. S. voting *against,* and Nationalist China voting *for.* On December 13, 1955, Formosa's delegate vetoed Outer Mongolia and wrecked the first package deal.

With the principle of universality now so strikingly affirmed, Japan's candidacy will now almost certainly

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be paired with that of Outer Mongolia, with Moscow gratuitously given a potent lever for its negotiations with Tokyo. The desperate Nationalist gamble has alienated support that Formosa previously enjoyed in the U. N., and promises to bring to an issue earlier than would otherwise have been the case Formosa's own right to be in the U. N. The U. S., for its part, has actually injured the chances of Formosa's continuing in existence as one of "two Chinas," and finds its influence and prestige diminished even where it could usually count on sympathy and cooperation—in Latin America and the British Commonwealth. This is the high price that the American people are called upon to pay for the State Department's playing politics to the domestic right-wing gallery.

The Shape of Things

The Two-Way Squeeze

The "economic pressure" that is the stock in trade of the White Citizens Councils can be a two-way squeeze —especially in those sectors of the South where Negroes, by their labor and by their spending, provide so much of the economy's life-blood. However menial their jobs, however small their individual purchasing power, if all the Negroes of a Deep South town or county were to stay home for even one day, that area would be paralyzed.

In Montgomery, Alabama, recently an impressive demonstration of this latent strength occurred when the Negro community—some 40,000 strong—declared a boycott against the city bus lines. The incident provoking the ban was the arrest of a seamstress who refused to give up her seat at the order of a driver. The driver testified that he had twenty-two Negro passengers and fourteen whites in his thirty-six-seat bus, and he ordered the woman and others to move back to "equalize" the seating.

Such incidents have been all too frequent in "the Cradle of the Confederacy": last summer a fourteen-year-old Negro girl was dragged off a bus by three policemen and taken in handcuffs to jail because of a refusal to relinquish her place to a white man. A bus driver left his vehicle to beat up a mentally deficient Negro who had "bothered" him from the sidewalk. Drivers have been said to carry guns in their cash boxes to "settle" disputes about transfers and change-making. Because of the stored-up resentment these caused, no organization or leader can be said to have inspired the boycott. "The leaders were led," said one Negro minister. "It was a vertical thing, sweeping through all our people. It was the most amazing thing I have ever seen, and the most heartening."

On the first day of the boycott, December 5, motorcycle police escorted buses on their routes and patrolmen were stationed at major stops. But the buses rolled along, as empty as husks, while long lines of Negro workers trudged with quiet purposefulness to their jobs. Parents formed car pools to get their children to school. The Negro taxicab companies offered a special rate of a dime a person to any place in the city. Bus-line officials admitted that the boycott was 95 per cent effective.

That same day, the arrested woman was convicted and fined $14. Her attorneys announced their intention to appeal the verdict with a clear view toward getting a federal ruling on the constitutionality of segregation in intrastate transportation. That night 5,000 Negroes overflowed the auditorium and lawn of a church and voted to continue the boycott until the bus line agreed to halt the "intimidation, embarrassment and coercion" of Negro patrons.

This dramatic display of unity may well inspire the Negro residents of other Southern cities to similar action. But whether it does or not, most observers agree that it has severely discouraged the White Citizens Council's recruiting drive in Montgomery.

The Lamb Case

Edward Lamb has now been cleared of charges of subversive activities by a Federal Communications Commission examiner who recommends that his television licenses be renewed. As the first publication to call attention to the importance of the issues in this case (see *The Nation,* June 12, 1954, with subsequent comment on February 5, 1955 and July 2, 1955), we join in the general editorial commendation that has greeted the report and findings of Herbert Sharfman, the F. C. C.'s hearing officer. One aspect of the case, however, has escaped general notice. The F. C. C. originally charged that Mr. Lamb had been a member of the Communist Party or that it had evidence of such membership. Later this charge was withdrawn and a

George G. Kirstein, Publisher
Carey McWilliams, Editor
Victor H. Bernstein, Managing Editor
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Freda Kirchwey, Editorial Contributor
J. A. del Vayo, European Correspondent

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Mary Simon, Advertising Manager

Martin Solow, Assistant to the Publisher

Staff Contributors: W. Macmahon Ball, Carolus, Maxwell Geismar, Keith Hutchison, Harvey O'Connor, Andrew Roth, Howard K. Smith, Alexander Werth, H. H. Wilson.

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new one substituted, namely, that Lamb had been known to associate with Communists. It is now quite clear that, at the time the new charge was substituted, officials of the F. C. C. had not interviewed a single one of the thirty-nine witnesses who subsequently testified against Mr. Lamb. Nineteen of these, incidentally, were professional witnesses or informers. In other words, the F. C. C. was apparently willing to file the most serious charges against one of its licensees without having examined any of the witnesses later produced in an effort to substantiate the charges. Were these witnesses, one wonders, even known to the F. C. C. at the time the charges were filed? Or did the F. C. C. first file the charges and then seek out the testimony of professional informers to substantiate them? One of the witness was Louis Budenz, on whose capacity for "total recall" Mr. Sharfman has some tart comment in his report. So far as we can determine, the Lamb case is the first action in which a government agency has initiated perjury charges against one of its own witnesses—in this instance the witness Marie Natvig—*before* concluding its own case.

Turning Point or Point of No Return?

Our cold warriors had better give their undivided attention to the meaning of Operation Sagebrush on which Mark S. Watson reports in this issue (p. 550). Sagebrush completely demolished the pleasant myth that tactical atomic weapons can be used to pin-point an attack in such a fashion that the destruction need not encompass civilian centers.

The moral implications of the maneuvers were at least as important as the strategic. In his dispatches to the Baltimore *Sun* from Fort Polk, Mr. Watson expressed the opinion that in the last five years we have witnessed a revolution in American thinking on the use of nuclear weapons. From horror and revulsion, we as a people gradually came around to the point where the suggested use of nuclear weapons aroused "no appreciable opposition among civilians." But does Operation Sagebrush mean that we have reached the point of no return? Or does it mean, rather, that we have reached a turning point at which public opinion may now swing back to the horror and revulsion which prevailed in 1945 and 1946?

In a telecast on December 8, Monsignor Fulton J. Sheen told his vast audience that Christians would never be justified in using nuclear weapons in an *aggressive* war. Moral justification for use in a *defensive* war would depend, he said, on three conditions: that no other means of defense were available; that the attack was of a wicked and unprovoked variety; and that the use of nuclear weapons would be limited to purely tactical purposes. But he hastened to add that Operation Sagebrush had demonstrated that his third, and vital, condition could no longer be met; and he concluded, quite sensibly, that one could no longer find moral justification for the use of nuclear weapons, in *any* war. Is there a sign here that public opinion is indeed reverting? If so, must we not finally reach the conclusion that war itself must be rejected as an instrument of national policy?

Horizontal Benificence

It is not every Christmas season that the sum of $500,000,000 is showered on 615 privately supported liberal-arts colleges, 3,500 voluntary non-profit hospitals, and a host of privately supported medical schools. Santa Claus has never been regarded as a pauper but now he must be thought of as a billionaire. Such is our diversity as a people, and so sensitive are the reflexes which this diversity has bred, that the trustees of the Ford Foundation, if only to avoid a kind of civil war, have adhered to democratic folkways in allocating grants. Within the fields chosen, there can be no complaints based on oversight or discrimination: Catholic, Jewish and Protestant institutions have been treated with mathematically exact fairness. In George Orwell's formula, none has been permitted to think that he is more equal than any other. Based not on special but on general needs, this horizontal beneficence makes up in fairness and generosity what it may lack in imagination and selectivity. Indeed about the only criticism that can be fairly voiced is that a sum of this magnitude, free of the restraints that are invariably attached to appropriations of public funds, might have been used to finance specialized projects of the kind that usually suffer from lack of funds but are often capable of returning the largest social dividends. But this is not a season to be captious. A gift of this magnitude, horizontally distributed, should, one would think, silence the silly carping about the Ford Foundation. But its critics have rare imagination and their capacity for ingratitude must not be underestimated. They may yet turn out to be the dogs who bit Santa Claus.

Bandung Bedfellows

The spectacular antics of Messrs. Bulganin and Khrushchev in India imposed a news blackout on the visit of His Majesty King Saud of Saudi Arabia, who arrived in New Delhi on November 27. The first Arab king to visit the new India, Saud was accompanied by a party of 204 persons, including nine princes, five ministers and five officials of ministerial rank. Received with great honors, Saud was a bit too rich for the Indian taste, bestowing costly gifts on his hosts and leaving $2,000 in tips for the servants in the Raj Bhavan (Governor's Residence). In the wake of the Bandung conference, which he attended, the King became quite "anti-colonial," and his anti-colonialism has become more vocal as his dispute with the British over Buraimi oil has sharpened. Like Nehru, King Saud is displeased, also, with the Baghdad pact. A chain of nations, including Indonesia, India, Burma, Saudi Arabia, Egypt

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and Syria now stand in opposition to, if not in formal alliance against, this favorite among Mr. Dulles' projects. Bulganin and Khrushchev left India in a blaze of publicity but King Saud departed on December 13, after a seventeen-day tour, so quietly that the event produced scarcely a ripple in the news of the week. But it should be noted in retrospect that, according to Indian dispatches, he had sought India's support in his dispute with Britain over the rich Biraimi oil pool.

Elevated Partnership

In a recent *Fortune* article on the meaning of human life, Henry Luce proposes that man's role for the future is as "a collaborator with God, in the whole of evolution."

This concept of "collaboration with God" he says, would almost perfectly define "the American religion."

Mr. Luce is well known for his acute sense of history and it is surprising that he does not recall what happens when a people enters into partnership with the Almighty. Elsewhere in the piece *Fortune's* editor-in-chief compares what he calls The American Organization with the much less puissant Roman Empire. The late Caesars also fancied themselves as collaborators with Olympus, and it was some time before they heard the laughter of the gods.

END OF A GERMAN ERA

The Outcome of Geneva . . *by Carolus*

Bonn

FOR GERMANY an historical epoch has just come to an end. It began in 1949 when the German Federal Republic made its difficult entry into the world with General Lucius D. Clay as midwife, and its dissimilar twin, the German Democratic Republic (East Germany), was nursed into life by the U. S. S. R. It ended in Geneva where the Big Four foreign ministers, instead of reuniting Germany as they were supposed to do, confirmed its division for the foreseeable future.

In any democratic country such a disaster to national aspirations would have been followed by a parliamentary storm. But not in the Federal Republic. Harmony reigned as the *Bundesrat* met to survey Geneva's outcome. Chancellor Adenauer, just recovered from a severe illness, entered the legislative chamber and took the unprecedented step of shaking hands with Erich Ollenhauer, leader of the Social Democratic Opposition. It was, indeed, as though no Opposition existed, as if the interminable struggle between the Social Democrats and the Adenauer coalition which has marked the last few years of West Germany's political life had never taken place.

CAROLUS is The Nation's *correspondent at Bonn.*

Where there was debate, it was about the irremediable past, not about the future. The government sought to shoulder the Russians with the entire blame; the Opposition more cautious, divided it. The Social Democrats pointed out that it had been the Paris agreement and the decision to remilitarize West Germany which had furnished Moscow with an excuse for wrecking the Geneva conference. Ollenhauer reproached the West for not even having put to the Russians the possibility of unifying a "neutralist" Germany, free of NATO or any other military alliance. In this he was echoing what the London *Times*, the Manchester *Guardian*, and the most important West German newspapers have been saying. The Frankfurter *Rundschau* wrote on November 23: "The Western maneuvering with half-truths and ambiguities, and the anemic lip service paid to German unity made things easy for the Soviet Union." Twelve days earlier the Manchester *Guardian* had written:

> Why don't we tell Molotov that we would be prepared to exclude German armed forces from NATO if the Soviets agreed to free elections and to limit the freedom to make decisions on Germany as a whole only with respect to federal military policies? But we did not pose the question, in the first place for the reason that the federal government in Bonn was opposed to it.

The London *Times* at one point had charged that no real negotiations of any kind had taken place at Geneva; a shrewd and respected German commentator had remarked that the West had merely dabbled its toes in the water and had never plunged in.

The Social Democrats had a case to argue in the *Bundesrat;* they never argued it. True, Ollenhauer gently chided Adenauer for the failure of the Chancellor's "policy of strength," but in the same breath he pledged his party, in effect, to support a continuation of that policy. In a speech that could almost have been made by Adenauer himself, the leader of the Opposition warned Moscow that bolshevization of West Germany would never be permitted, and that only a majority of an all-German parliament, constituted on the basis of free elections, had the authority to determine the economic and political structure of a reunited Germany.

All this was well and good, provided the shadow of the new Russian ambassador were not already darkening Bonn. Mr. Zorin, who as ambassador to Prague in 1948 was responsible for the *gleichgeschaltung* of Czechoslovakia, is at this writing packing his bags for his trip to the Rhine.

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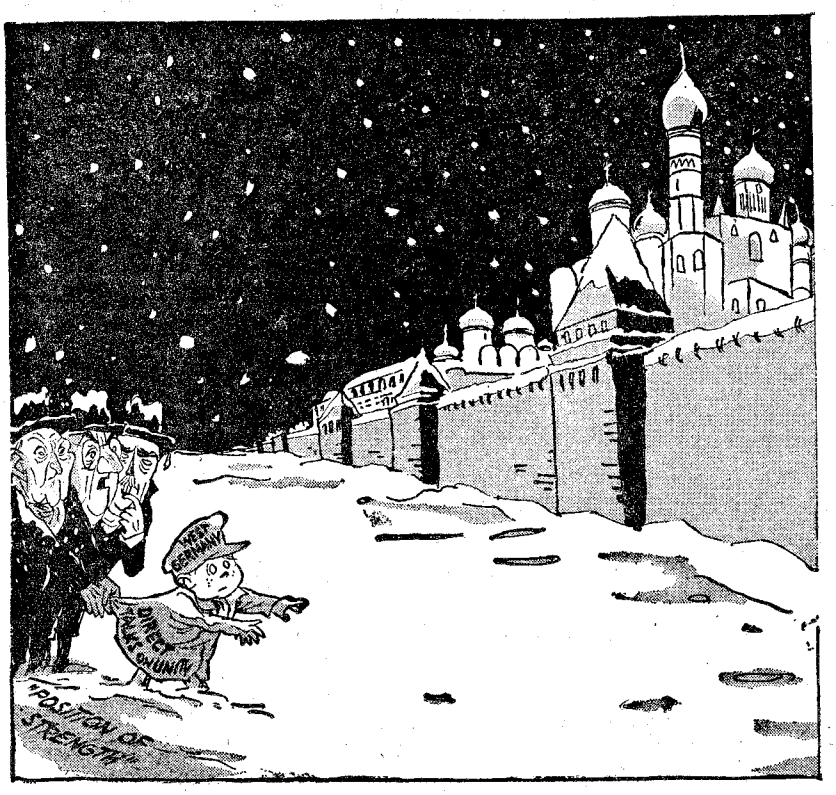

Vicky in New Statesman and Nation (London)

Drang Nach Osten . . .

Dr. Adenauer's illness lasted seven weeks. Neither physically nor politically is he the man he was. His capitulation at Moscow so damaged his prestige with the West that all his actions since have been dictated by one thought: to win back the confidence of his Western allies. That was why, on the very day the Geneva debate on European security opened, he decreed from his sick-bed the induction into the new West German army of its first officers and men. That was why he risked a break with the Free Democrats, the second largest party in his coalition government, by "ordering" them to disavow their leader, Dr. Thomas Dehler, who was demanding direct negotiations with Moscow. But the Free Democrats, despite their inner divisions, stood by Dehler and Adenauer had to back down ignominiously on his ultimatum. The party still remains in the government.

Significantly, Dehler's most fervent supporter in this fight was the largest and most powerful of the Free Democratic provincial organizations—the Rhenish-Westphalian *Landesverband,* led by West Germany's great industrialists and their nationalistic following. For years German industrialists have been casting covetous eyes at Eastern markets. Before Adenauer's trip to Moscow, I wrote in *The Nation* that the Chancellor was a creature of West Germany's big-money clique; cannot his capitulation at Moscow, as well as to the Free Democrats, be ascribed to this fact?

WITH an eye to Western approval, the Chancellor continues to press for remilitarization. But on certain aspects of his military program, he maintains discreet silence. After two years of preparatory pro-army propaganda, only 30,000 men have volunteered for the Chancellor's new army, and of these only 10,000 are fit for service. So say the experts. In order to fill the ranks, the 20,000-man Frontier Police, which has had some training, is being incorporated. Tomorrow the Anglo-American Labor Service, composed of 150,000 civilians, will follow. What sort of an army will this be, unwanted by the masses of the German people, and which experts are convinced is useless from a military standpoint? The fact is that remilitarization of West Germany has been a great success in Paris and in Geneva but in West Germany it has been a failure.

Meanwhile Russia begins to raise an East German military force, increasing the unrest in the Federal Republic. Disquiet is spreading among West Germany's workers, who have much to complain about. They are demanding higher wages to offset inflationary prices. Their united labor movement is threatened by a new Christian labor organization financed by foreign funds. One of their gifted and more militant leaders, Dr. Agartz, a proponent of the nationalization of the coal, steel and electric-power industries, has been dismissed as leader of the Institute for Scientific Economics. Bavarian labor is demanding an extraordinary labor congress to tackle many problems considered urgent. The immediate effect of all this unrest was manifest at a recent election for union shop stewards in a large Dortmund coal and steel works. For the first time in such an election in the Federal Republic, the workers voted a Communist majority.

Meanwhile the Soviet Union's propaganda machine, aimed primarily at the labor unions and the Social Democrats, is in high gear. Yet the Russians' success in this effort will depend less on themselves than on the social and political climate within West Germany. And in this connection one is reminded forcibly of the great comeback being made by German reaction, which continues to exert increasing power in the state bureaucracy—and especially in the administration of justice. Nazi criminals regularly win acquittals or get off with ludicrously light punishment. As government employees of Hitler's Reich, they continue to receive pensions while their victims must fight for every penny of the restoration funds due them.

Moscow is using every means in its power to secure Bonn's recognition of the East German regime, and to achieve German unification at the expense of the West. The newly begun cold war for Berlin is a striking example. After all, one must strike a balance. Having taken due note of the West's wrongful policy on Germany since the founding of the Federal Republic and up to the agreement on its remilitarization, one must recall that at Geneva Molotov, too, failed to pose the questions which Dulles so carefully withheld. One cannot safely ignore the dangerous and hypocritical role the Russian leaders are now playing. To

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accuse the West of fascism for years on end, and then to curry favor with the feudal powers of the Near East; to charge the West with reawakening Prussian militarism, and then to elevate Prussia's Napoleonic generals into national heroes in East Germany in order to arouse the vilest kind of German nationalism: where is the difference? If in the future the German people should surrender to "national bolshevism" as in the past they surrendered to a Bismarck and a Hitler, will *that* mark progress?

This is how decent Germans are thinking today. They want to know where democracy enters the picture, and ethics, and justice. Shall we uncritically approve, when done by the East, that which we have denounced in Western conduct since 1949? It is Moscow which struck the weapons from the hands of Adenauer's West German opponents in that fateful *Bundesrat* debate. It is Moscow which created the harmony in Bonn which bodes ill for all who feel that peace, democracy and social justice are more than mere shibboleths.

CAN WE LIMIT AN "A-WAR"?

The Lessons of Sagebrush . . *by Mark S. Watson*

THE LARGEST of our postwar army and air-force maneuvers came to an end early this month and made unmistakably clear how great have been the changes in war potential—ours and others'—in the brief decade since the Allied victories of 1945. In pre-gunpowder days changes in weapons, and hence in tactics, were slow to develop. The arrival of gunpowder and the new weapons for its more efficient employment enormously accelerated the evolution of military science. Now atomic power has produced a total revolution in military thinking in a mere fraction of a human generation. And in a still shorter span of years just ahead, we can presumably count on guided missiles of an efficiency so absolute as to render obsolete most of today's marvels—and conceivably civilization as well.

Without speculating on the due-date of the intercontinental ballistic missile (I. B. M.), or even the future of the H-bomb, we have sufficient to worry about in the present thriving state of the A-bomb and its immediate relatives, the atomic warheads of army artillery and rockets. For nearly a month they were employed—or, rather, simulated—by both the Aggressor and the Defender forces, air and ground alike, in the Sagebrush maneuvers in Louisiana which engaged 140,000 officers and men plus a great deal of military equipment. The exercises attracted the attention of many of our military chiefs and of the military attaches of friendly nations, and also—not so overtly but just as certainly—the attention of less friendly nations.

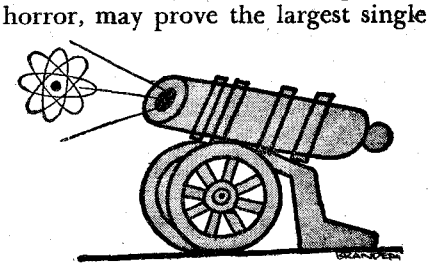
The professional findings were presented (to chosen personnel only) in official critiques at the close of the exercise, but the laymen's observations, and those of many of the professionals through their press conferences, were readily available. From such unrestricted sources it is possible to summarize certain conclusions:

1. Atomic weapons whose employment was simulated (and this means solely the fission weapons of so-called "limited" powers of destruction; the appalling thermonuclear-fusion weapons—the so-called "H-bombs"—were not simulated) have a shattering effect not only on and about the point of impact as expected, but on a great many long-respected techniques of warfare. Certain World War II standards are standard no longer and it is a grave question whether many of the counter-measures thus far developed could cope adequately with a series of atomic strikes.

2. Electronic marvels have come with a rush. But as each new device arrives, a counter-device is heralded. And as each new miracle in communications comes to hand, the opportunities to employ it increase so rapidly that the miracle of performance barely keeps pace with the insatiable demand created by new uses.

3. War-planning for the future takes on a complexity and an urgency which would stagger anyone except the bold and resourceful and determined. Do we count on using the atomic weapons? Or do we count on using conventional weapons? The answer is easy—we have to count on both, and at the same time we must press our hardest for peaceful settlement of disputes, which means using neither. This is not so paradoxical as it sounds. For however illogical war may be, and however deep man's aversion to it, we know of no long-continued peace in our world save through the existence of a military force capable of enforcing it—or at least strong enough to deter a power from gambling on aggression. In other words, while at the moment we ardently hope that war will not come, our plainly stated national policy is to have America fully equipped for war and so ready and willing to reply with massive retaliation that no foe will risk our counterattack.

There is a growing belief (based largely on hope, to be sure) that this policy will succeed, and that no nation will ever be so mad as to initiate an atomic war lest its foe, however badly stricken in the initial attack, retain enough reprisal-power to make a devastating counterattack. The H-bomb, with its incomparable horror, may prove the largest single



MARK WATSON is the military analyst of the Baltimore Sun.

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factor in bringing to the world a peace which nobler things have signally failed to achieve.

But conjectures of this sort were not supported by Sagebrush, save in a theorist's extrapolation. The army and the air force, obviously carrying out national policy, made unprecedented use of atomic warheads of supposedly "limited" power, and attained their most impressive results with them. Something over 250 warheads were simulated, directed against scattered targets in the huge Louisiana maneuver area and also against much more widely scattered targets (chiefly air bases in ten states of the Southeast). When one thinks of the destructive power of each bomb (or shell, for wide use was made of warheads impelled from the 280 mm. gun and of launchers of the Honest John rocket and the Corporal and the Matador missiles) it is easy to see how vast would have been the destruction from real firing of 250 such monsters. That they are of "limited" power, and that modern firing-skills are assumed to be capable of avoiding the destruction of anything except the military target do not fully soothe the nervous noncombatant. The official assurance of what 250 real warheads would have done is an admission that "limited" is an extremely vague term. Moreover, it is an ingenuous mind which thinks that a desperate nation in a serious war would use only "limited" means to avert defeat. We will have to seek elsewhere for immunity from total war.

SAGEBRUSH made it obvious that our military training envisages the use of atomic weapons in warfare. This is not a new fact. For over a year we have been sending atomic weapons to our forces abroad. Our competent and realistic Supreme Commander of NATO forces in Europe, General A. M. Gruenther, has repeatedly stated that Allied forces in that theatre are too weak to resist for long the enormous Red forces beyond the Oder—save for our possession of the atomic weapon, the great "equalizer." In plain terms he has spoken of our need for ready ground forces at critical points for the purpose of compelling an aggressive foe to mass against them and, in massing, to provide a suitable target for A-weapons. This tactic, incidentally, was repeatedly used by the opposed ground forces at Sagebrush, which employed the mighty weapon in attack, in defense and in counter-attack with great skill.

The air force's aggressive use of the A-bomb on the very first night of the exercises was impressive. Raiders hit at Defender bases oven ten states in the effort to render them useless, to destroy Defender planes on those bases, and to make the survivors powerless to fight. As an auxiliary measure, the Aggressor raiders employed new electronic devices, here describable only as mounted in high-flying planes and sending out impulses of such power as to "blind" the Defenders' radar detection. Thus protected, the raiding planes came in at low level and theoretically put 80 per cent of Defenders' interceptor and fighter-bomber fleet out of business. This one-shot surprise started something of a national flap over the dubious effectiveness of our air-defense as a whole until two things were pointed out: (1) a low-level attack is good for only a very short distance (whereas our warning-lines are very far away) and (2) a counter-measure against this particular sort of radar-blinding is almost at hand. This counter-measure illustrates the swiftness of today's attack-and-defense cycle.

THE ground forces at Sagebrush, besides employing their own new weapons, demonstrated certain new equipment and a good deal in the way of new tactics. In both respects the emphasis is on that great mobility which is always desirable (in effect, making one small force a threat against half a dozen enemy areas). In atomic warfare this is obligatory —in order to disperse before enemy A-attack and also to reassemble swiftly at need. A prime means of accomplishing this rapid movement is aerial transport, whether by the improved helicopter or the greatly improved cargo-plane capable of taking off from turf with a short run.

Mobility also implies a communications system capable of reaching over a considerable distance to a great many small-unit commanders. Here our electronics wizards have led the way, with television cameras which portray distant scenes and actions, and with radio on so many frequencies that situation-reports and battle-orders can be transmitted simultaneously from and to a great number of widely scattered units.

Mobility also implies the need to allot responsibility to leaders of smaller units, and this calls not only for better small-unit training but for more resourceful small-unit commanders. The field division, while no smaller than it was, seems (on the basis of continuing experiment at Fort Benning, of which Sagebrush was merely one of many tests) to be headed for distribution into smaller packets than the old regimental combat team. Even the platoon may be split into smaller units than the squad, perhaps to three-man teams (for reconnaissance, support and reserve) as in Indian-war days.

BUT the main lesson of Sagebrush, if there was a main lesson, seems to be that preparation for atomic warfare, either restricted or unrestricted, or for conventional warfare, is not enough. There must be first-class preparation for both, wasteful as that may appear—all war being wasteful. Readiness for full atomic warfare is necessary primarily as a deterrent, but in any event as a last resort if deterrence fails. Readiness for efficient conventional warfare is necessary simply on the basis of a decade's experience. Not an A-bomb has been employed since Nagasaki. Yet in that period the Red world has absorbed or completed absorbing a whole series of European satellites and extended its dictatorship into China, Korea and Indo-China. It would have gone deeper both into Europe and Asia save for the free world's resistance with "conventional" weapons.

There is a logical basis for the belief that Russia and Communist China alike count on further fringe-wars to extend their powers. In that belief lies the reason for the determined building up of our own conventional combat resources. Their demonstration at Sagebrush was not so spectacular as that of the all-destroying H-weapons, but we should have learned enough of late in Greece, in Turkey, in Korea and in Indo-China to make us aware of the large threats visible today in the Middle East and likely to develop shortly elsewhere. The Red world does not sleep, and we cannot afford to. The maneuver at Sagebrush was most useful in its demonstration of the things that yet remain to be done.

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PROBERS AND THE PRESS

Publishers Yield A Principle . . *by M. L. Barnet*

WITH the notable exception of the New York *Post,* editorial writers and columnists of the metropolitan press have remained silent on the New York visit, early this month, of the Senate Internal Security subcommittee, and the news stories were proper to the point of primness. The public learned little more than the number of persons questioned daily in the executive sessions held on December 5, 6 and 7 before Senator Jenner or Senator Hennings.

Senator Hennings was in the embarrassing position of an equestrian artist standing on two horses going in different directions. As a member of the Internal Security group he takes part in the creation of situations which, as chairman of the Constitutional Rights subcommittee of the same parent Judiciary Committee, he must try to remedy (see p. 556). Thus, he came to New York to ask newspapermen, "Are you or have you ever been . . .?" fresh from Washington hearings at which he had reportedly given a sympathetic ear to Professor Alexander Meiklejohn's statement: "The question [by a 'subordinate agency' of the government] 'Are you a Republican?' or 'Are you a Communist?', when accompanied by the threat of harmful or degrading consequences if an answer is refused, or if the answer is this rather than that, is an intolerable invasion of the 'reserved powers' of the governing people."

Among the New York newspapers the *Herald Tribune* may have set a record—and certainly equaled one—for discretion in the handling of closed Congressional investigations. It breathed no word of the hearings for the three days they lasted, although at last summer's public sessions it had given the most lavish coverage in the city to a story that was, like the recent one, in large part an attack on its rival New York *Times.*

While the *Times* itself had nothing to say about the new attack editorially and almost nothing in its news columns, it found a stout defender—and a mild reprover—in the New York *Post,* which declared editorially:

> The basic facts . . . are that some forty newspapermen [Hennings later said thirty-five] have been summoned by the committee, and that more than half are present or former employes of the Times (which has some 700 editorial employees) . . . [The] inquiry appears primarily designed to harass and discredit a newspaper which has been a consistent critic of the methods and spirit of that committee.

With gentle suasion that generously overlooked three ousters based on employees' refusal to inform, the editorial added:

> The Times knows, as most Americans do, that this ["cooperation" by informing] is no final proof of patriotism. It is a problem of individual conscience. If the committee can force the Times to modify or even betray its own convictions under fire, it will win a victory of major dimensions.

The committee itself seemed to be sparring in an unorthodox way. After reportedly sifting some 500 names and issuing seventy-one subpoenas to newspaper people, it abruptly postponed the hearings indefinitely on November 21 just as they were about to start, and, in another unusual move, canceled all subpoenas. The excuse was that Senator Eastland was indisposed. By December 1, the Senator recovered sufficiently to address a rally of Mississippi's White Citizens Councils, but four days later he was again too sick to give his personal attention to committee business. His illness was variously announced as a cold, influenza and pneumonia. The hearings resumed without him after new subpoenas had been distributed to a whittled-down list of thirty-five.

A FIGHT—to rework the pugilistic metaphor—where spectators feel that one combatant is lying down while the other is pulling his punches, gives rise to a suspicion of "fix." In New York newspaper circles the theory has gained currency that some sort of deal has been made between the Senators and the publishers. On the other hand, publishers are no more immune than other employers to the paralyzing effect of the dread cry of "Communist, Communist!" and even without a "deal" they might consider it impossible to rally to the defense of their freedom at the risk of impugning their patriotism or offending their advertisers. Moreover, the committee's fire has been concentrated on the *Times.* The other New York publications may regard themselves as innocent bystanders wounded by shots that have missed the mark. The committee's secondary targets—the Newspaper Guild and the left-wing *National Guardian*—are such as to arouse little fellow-feeling on the part of the newspaper owners.

Information trickling out of the hearings indicated that the investigation was at least part dud. Senator Jenner admitted that the probers were "sifting the true from the false"—a process usually carried out in pre-hearing research. Witnesses

MELVIN L. BARNET was on the financial and business-news copydesk of the New York Times *until July 13, 1955.*

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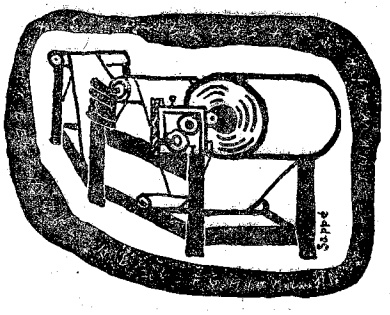
were not pressed for names—lapse of memory being fairly readily accepted as an excuse. They experienced little persistency in the questioning generally, and, indeed, the rush of testimony—as many as fourteen persons were heard in one day—precluded intensive grilling. An unwonted atmosphere of cordiality prevailed between the probers and the probed. Some unlikely witnesses were summoned, including persons who had not been in the newspaper industry for fifteen years or more. An unusually high proportion of the witnesses told the Senators that they had never been Communists, and some of the denials were presumably attributable to mistaken identity. Relatively little recourse was taken to the Fifth Amendment.

In many respects the hearings differed from those held in June and July. They also differed, it is understood, in eliciting several refusals to answer on the basis of the First Amendment (freedom of the press). As a fishing expedition the new inquiry, although less intensive, appeared to cover wider ground. Questions dealing with past and present activities in the Newspaper Guild were common, for instance. One major topic, the New York *Times*, was carried over from the earlier agenda, and this time the committee's curiosity was even more impertinent. Its questions reportedly ranged from the broad operations of the various desks to such detailed queries as who wrote a certain picture caption. The paper's Sunday department, where Harvey Matusow had once found more Communists than there were employees, was singled out for particular scrutiny.

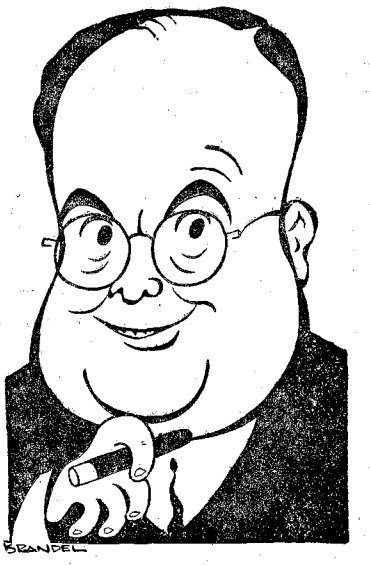
As for the *Times* itself, its capitulation to the witch hunt in its own house, after staunchly resisting it elsewhere, may be motivated in some measure by the likelihood that, as th *Post* suggested, "its public shame can be reduced if it privately persuades its subpoenaed employees to cooperate with the committee." Among other surrender moves, the *Times* is disclosed to have assisted process servers in the distribution of subpoenas in its plant, to have brought pressure to bear on the recipients to "cooperate" with the committee, to have suggested as a probably acceptable alternative that employees unwilling to tell tales in public do so in private to the F. B. I., and finally, to have dropped two competent craftsmen for planning to invoke the Fifth Amendment. The two men—one a Guildsman and one an executive outside the Guild's jurisdiction—had made a clean breast to the *Times* of the radical past on which they proposed to remain silent before the committee, it is understood.



THE NEW Eastland inquiry, scheduled to move into open sessions late this month or sometime in January, is a resumption of the summer hearings that were supposed to represent the climax of years of study of alleged Communist influence in the press by McCarthy and other Congressional committees. But they came rather as anticlimax—despite the confession of Winston Burdett, CBS correspondent, of an exciting but ineffective espionage mission in Europe in behalf of Russia. The Senators flogged a dead Brooklyn *Eagle* (the newspaper went out of existence early this year in the course of a Guild strike) and when they wearied of that, turned to torment a bird of a different feather, the very much alive *Times*.

The futility of last summer's hearings—only four one-time Communists were exposed among the New York Guild's 8,000 members—made inevitable continuation of the investigation. However, three men immediately lost their jobs for their taciturnity before the committee. One was the *Times* copyreader, Melvin L. Barnet. The others were a reporter on the *Daily News* and the publicity director of the National Municipal League. All three firings had resounding consequences.

The publicity man obtained work with the Fund for the Republic, and the disclosure of this tidbit in Hearst's New York *Journal American* was seized by foes of the research organization as ammunition against it. The Fund felt obliged to explain



Senator James O. Eastland

that the employment was part-time, temporary, and just about over anyway, but Fund President Robert M. Hutchins later used the incident to develop the view that under certain conditions he would hire not only former Communists but even present ones.

The two newspaper firings whipped up a civil-liberties squall, and, in the New York Newspaper Guild, created a stir unmatched since the displacement of the old leftist leadership in 1947. The issue split the membership, led to a jarring right-wing assault on the middle-of-the-road Guild administration, and may have breathed the first signs of new life into dormant left-of-center forces. It also put the New York local in a state of undeclared rebellion against the national union on the broad policy matter of defending Guildsmen fired for blocking, on constitutional grounds, Congressional interrogation on communism.

The New York Guild, after a flurry of indignation over the July firings, cooled off rapidly as opposition to prosecution of the two grievances, fanned by the leaders of the *Times* and *News* units, began to make itself felt. Later Guild developments were foreshadowed in a three-point statement by *Times* unit officers on August 1:

> 1. It is the duty of every American who has any knowledge of the Communist conspiracy to cooperate unreservedly with the authorized agencies of Government.
> 2. The basic issue of Guild policy toward its members who invoke the

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Fifth Amendment before official Government agencies is a matter of such fundamental concern that it should be passed upon through a city-wide referendum.

3. The publisher in his letter of dismissal [to Barnet] fails to set forth an adequate basis for discharge. . . . If allowed to stand, it might jeopardize the job security of Guild members in cases having nothing to do with subversion. . . .

The *Times* grievance committee, in its turn, adopted the policy expressed in Point 1, and with more consistency than the unit officers had shown, rejected Point 3. In language that the *Post* likened to "a simple-minded Hearst editorial," the committee recommended in mid-September against proceeding to arbitration. The *News* grievance body took a similar stand on the companion case about the same time.

The reinstatement prospects of the two newsmen looked almost hopeless at that juncture since the executive board of the New York Guild was understood to be strongly influenced by the sentiment of the two units. But less than a month later, a majority of the board had lined up in favor of arbitration. The change of mind had taken place despite the fact that in the meantime the *Times* and *News* units had indorsed their grievance-committee recommendations.

While voting 11 to 4 for arbitration, the executive board proposed a nationwide referendum on the Fifth Amendment issue—and in lieu of that a local referendum—to reconsider the national Guild policy, unanimously reaffirmed at the union's convention last June, of "fully protecting our members in their constitutional rights." The American Newspaper Guild's international executive board, turning down the New York request for a referendum, declared specifically that the invocation of the Fifth Amendment "cannot and must not be allowed to constitute cause for discharge, nor presumption of guilt." The New York Guild thereupon proceeded to schedule a local referendum of dubious legality, for December 15 and 16 on the question: "Shall the Newspaper Guild of New York resist the dismissal of all members fired because of refusal on constitutional grounds to answer questions concerning alleged Communist affiliations and/or association before a competent government body?"

Erosion of Freedom

". . . the Fifth amendment is an important and historic element in the charter of our liberties; and if it is to protect the best of us it must also stand ready to be used even by the worst. The erosion of our own freedom begins when we deprive of its guarantees those whom we most hate and despise."

—*New York* Times *editorial, "Not Excluding The Fifth," May 25, 1955.*

An eight-man minority on the twenty-four member executive board issued a strong plea for a "yes" vote on the referendum. "There are some in this union," the minority statement said, "who want to go along with the publishers and say that under certain . . . new conditions, publishers may fire employees and the Guild will not object. . . ." But the membership voted down the proposition, 3,185 to 2,064, thus putting the New York Guild into direct conflict with its parent body, the American Newspaper Guild.

MEANWHILE, despite local executive board support, the two discharge cases dating from the original Eastland hearings have had rough going. A final decision on pressing the two cases is being held in abeyance by the Representative Assembly, legislative body of the New York Guild, pending the outcome of the *Times* suit to enjoin the arbitration. That suit, in which the management has just won the first round, is based on the *Times* Guild unit's opposition to arbitration as expressed in a 337-235 vote against Barnet with 766 not participating. New York Supreme Court Justice Benvenga agreed with the *Times* that the city-wide Guild could not intervene in the case in the absence of a dispute between the newspaper and its employees.

The Guild's contract enforcement officer, M. Michael Potoker, in announcing the Guild's intention to appeal, declared: "The decree in this case defeats the very purpose of having an arbitration clause in the contract. It is more than ironic that the New York *Times*, which at one time fought to have the arbitration principle and practice generally accepted, should now have taken this step against arbitration." He added that the judge's decision was "another way of saying that, although it is the Guild local which has a contract with the *Times*, a section of that local can overrule the Guild."

Arbitration of the *Daily News* case is also far from imminent. The leadership of that local, hostile to the leadership of the New York Guild, has used the *News* firing as a springboard for a right-wing uprising. While the *Times* unit readily conceded the New York board's right to override it in the Barnet dispute, the *News* officers were reluctant to release their own discharge case from the grievance machinery in which they had kept it bottled up. As a result, the *News* management may be equipped with court arguments against arbitration that do not exist in the *Times* case.

The necessity of preserving the principle of city-wide Guild authority—and of thereby forestalling company-union trends—has been made clear to the local Guild by the *Daily News* incident, and has given determination to the union in its court battle with the *Times*. Even Guildsmen who may ultimately vote to ditch Barnet are among the strong supporters of the union's right to take him to arbitration if it wants to.

Meanwhile, the new *Times* discharge resulting from resumption of the Eastland hearings has also entered on the bumpy road to Guild arbitration. In a letter that is bound to plague America's greatest newspaper when its sense of fair play returns, Louis Loeb, *Times* attorney, told the latest firing victim:

> . . . You were discharged because of the facts which you furnished to me in the presence of your attorney in confidence, at a meeting in my office on November 17, 1955, subject to the understanding that I would pass them on to my client, the management of the New York Times.
>
> If you wish to contest this discharge, as a result of which I will be required to set forth the facts given to me, that contest instituted by you must of necessity release me from the limitations which you imposed at the time you made the statement to me.

Such are the rewards of candor at the New York *Times*.

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Sean O'Casey's World

This essay on Sean O'Casey's place in the development of the modern theatre is published in anticipation of the production of Red Roses for Me *which will open in New York on December 26. Dr. Lewis, who is professor of theatre history at the University of Mexico, discusses the play in terms of its social ideas; its merit as a work of theatre art will be judged by Harold Clurman in a review to be published early in January.*

By Allan Lewis

THE THEATRE of the Western world is to a large extent removed from the interests and problems of the working class. Middle-class characters and themes dominate and the implicit assumption is that men of business or the professions are typical of all men, that human nature and social problems are general. Thus, domestic, political or psychological conflicts, including love and marriage, career, relationships between parents and children, are given an ideal setting in the dour living room of the lower-middle class or the smart drawing room of the wealthier set.

This concept is strange when one realizes that middle-class theatre is itself of recent origin. It did not come into its own until the late nineteenth century. The Renaissance marks the birth of the modern world in which the merchant, the banker and the manufacturer are the significant and motive forces. Yet Renaissance drama is of kings and nobles; when a merchant does appear he is the source of ridicule.

Shoemakers' Holiday is almost the lone example wherein the wealthy merchant is treated kindly but it was comedy, which permitted less conformity to rules, and even here the romantic lead is a nobleman. *The London Merchant* in the eighteenth century is the first successful effort to give tragic dignity to the business man and his ethics. Diderot and Lessing boldly called for a "bourgeois drama," but pronouncements did not produce plays and a feeble *Emilia Galotti* only paved the way for heroines to be daughters of shopkeepers or teachers of music. Not until Ibsen did middle-class drama achieve stature and only after a bitter struggle for acceptance. Today it is our heritage and contemporary playwrights, whether Priestley or Carroll, Sartre or Bernstein, Lillian Hellman or Arthur Miller, follow in the tradition, more refined, more subtle, more repetitious.

The working class, which made its historical appearance in the nineteenth century, arrived in the theatre almost simultaneously with the middle class. Zola, strongly drawn to the theatre but least successful there, was among the first to recognize audience and content changes. But what resulted were realistic sociological studies of the drab and the lowly, the sordid and the oppressed. It was a distorted and often condescending picture from the point of view of the middle-class observer, wherein the hungry and forgotten are not dignified with human tragedy, but cast beyond it. In Hauptmann's *Weavers,* for example, the revolt of the workers is blind and bestial, a savage protest against unbearable suffering, wherein characters are left unrealized. Even in *The Lower Depths,* the superb culmination of Zolaesque naturalism, Gorky by-passes the main body of workers and treats of the marginal and the derelict. In the United States, the early plays of O'Neill followed the European example, depicting sailors and prostitutes, but the overtones are romantic and O'Neill was exploiting strange sounds and places. It is suggestive that his only comedy deals with a typical middle-class family.

Not until after the first World War is there a fully-developed and conscious workers' theatre. The movement was most intense and organized in Germany, spread throughout the Western world, and resulted in a new theatre awareness. But it quickly dissipated. Out of two decades of proletarian theatre little endures in the United States or England. The theatre is again preoccupied with "universal" middle-class values. Of all playwrights today, the one who has fought consistently to develop a working-class theatre is Sean O'Casey, who despite shifting political climates, lack of production and ever-present financial difficulties, has never wavered in his beliefs.

Red Roses for Me is a mature working-class play, with all the strength and weakness, the confusion and power, of a distinct theatre experience. What the play says is not unusual. It follows the pattern of the strike plays so common in the thirties. But it rises above its already forgotten predecessors because O'Casey treats people with a wealth of individual characterization, a respectful dignity, a richness of poetry, while preserving a philosophical integrity that enables his working-class leader to assume the proportions of Aristotelian tragedy.

The strike has always captured the imagination of playwrights, for it is a moment of dramatic and decisive qualitative change. O'Casey does not give us the strike itself. To do so would be cinematic rather than theatrical. He is concerned with its effect on people. It is the test of the hero, Ayamonn, and is reported on stage in the Greek manner. Unlike the hero of classical tragedy, Ayamonn is neither "renowned nor prosperous," nor is his blood noble, nor his position exalted, but this working-class hero both in life and death rises to tragic stature.

The love between Sheila and Ayamonn is characteristic of O'Casey. It is not the usual love, abstracted from life. It is a love deepened, broken, reborn by the specific obstacles of actual living. Ayamonn thinks in terms of his class and himself. He would advance himself, paint, write, sing, but with the advancement of society. His thoughts

Sean O'Casey

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are of Ireland. He never holds himself apart from his fellow workers. Even his Shakespeare is to get them to talk of poetry in the pubs, to make them know that Shakespeare is "part of the kingdom of heaven in the nature of everyman." Sheila is the present accepted bourgeois world. She is the daughter of a police sergeant and wooed by the inspector of the guards, not rich or important people, but middle class in thought. Sheila is concerned with self, which includes her lover but implies advancement at a cost to others, anarchic and socially irresponsible. She would have Ayamonn desert the strike to save their marriage. With more money, a little better home, a notch above the other railroad workers, they can be happy. To Ayamonn her request is treason.

Romeo and Juliet, in the youth of the modern world, were tragic figures who fell in the fight against a restricting feudal society which denied individual choice to lovers. Ayamonn, four hundred years later, is fighting against the corruption of that individualism. What would have meant survival to the "star-crossed lovers" is death to Ayamonn. The right of choice has become the law of the jungle, splintering common effort. Ayamonn fights for the individual as an element within the group. It is social thinking and feeling versus the each-man-for-himself anarchy of Sheila. The conflict of these two moralities is a major dramatic theme. Unfortunately, O'Casey does not give it full play. He is too eager to include too much—religion, politics—so that at best we get just a peek at the lovers. They are always being interrupted by the rest of society.

O'Casey is the earth-bound trade unionist with his head in the stars, a dialectical materialist with a dash of Shelley. In his early plays, the realist is dominant, but as the dream demands more room, the front parlor is pushed aside and the universe becomes the stage. Thus the problem with O'Casey is how to achieve fusion, how to harness the romanticism, how to enforce discipline, how to resolve his contradictory impulses. His partial failure gives a sense of incompleteness, often of awkwardness, yet the dynamics of this often unresolved contradiction is the source of his power and his poetry. This may account for the fact that though he disagreed with all that Yeats stood for, he felt a deep kinship with the dean of Irish poets. For there is a bit of Yeats in O'Casey, a bit of Yeats and a great deal of Gorky, a combination that makes for a most tempestuous marriage.

SOFT IMPEACHMENT

The Loyalty-Security Probe . . . *by Edgar Kemler*

Washington

THE SOFT-SPOKEN Hennings subcommittee probe of the loyalty-security system is a rather startling commentary on the current McCarthy twilight. It seems incredible that only eighteen months ago, the gaudy McCarthy-army fracas was staged in the same high-ceilinged caucus room where its modest successor opened three weeks ago. Here again we find a Senator embroiled with Pentagon functionaries—only this time, instead of being charged with allegedly coddling Communists, the functionaries are being called down for denying some Communists and many non-Communists their constitutional rights. However, the Missouri Democrat and his able counsel, Lon Hocker, have so far failed to dramatize the great peril that underlies their charges as effectively as Joe McCarthy did for his. The Hennings specter of government-inspired thought-control still seems pallid by comparison with the McCarthy-image of one possible traitor-in-government holding "a razor over the nation's jugular." At any rate, none of the functionaries feel that this committee has imperiled his job, and the room that was jam-packed by its predecessor has been consistently deserted by all save a dozen reporters.

THAT Hennings isn't going anywhere in particular was indicated in his speech to the St. Louis Lawyers Association just prior to the hearings. On that occasion, he advised the Eisenhower Administration that his object was not to repeal the present security system in favor of traditional police methods, but to clean it up with reforms enabling the accused directly or indirectly to confront his accuser. However, since Attorney General Brownell and civil-service chief Philip Young had already initiated such reforms, although somewhat feebly, the subcommittee's ground has been undercut to that extent. To be sure, the Senator has not been denied occasional moments of triumph. In at least two cases involving charges of kinship with tainted parents, the subcommittee has forced the higher-ups to reverse rulings made at low echelons. Thanks to Hennings's personal intervention, Lieutenant Walter K. Novak finally received an honorable discharge from the army instead of the discriminatory general discharge, and Fred Karpoff, a research scientist, was restored to his job at the Cleveland Flight Propulsion Laboratory. Also, under Hocker's questioning, the State Department security chief, Scott McLeod, tacitly admitted that he had reversed a decision to withhold Dr. Linus Pauling's passport only because of Pauling's having received the 1954 Nobel Prize in chemistry. "We read the newspapers, too," McLeod remarked cynically.

However, while security procedure would now seem to be improving and some of its more absurd criteria about to be abandoned, its potential for ferreting out and ex-

EDGAR KEMLER is a frequent contributor to The Nation *on the Washington scene.*

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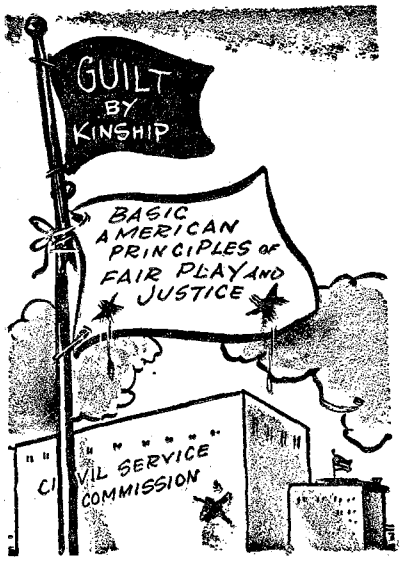
peling non-Communist dissenters is still as potent as ever. How this can be done in violation of due process and any reasonable standard of justice was suggested by civil-service chief Young, when he gave a new interpretation to a previously revealed fact. The fact is that three-quarters of the Eisenhower Administration's 3,685 "security risks" were fired ostensibly for non-security reasons such as incompetence, heavy drinking, or insubordination When this practice was first revealed by the Alsop brothers almost two years ago, it was thought to be merely a political device for raising the "security risk" count against the Truman Administration. However, Young has always said, and now perhaps may be believed, that it is not a political device but a security device for ridding the government of "undesirables" who might conceivably survive the out-and-out security procedures. While the full potential of this practice for frameups seems to have escaped the Hennings subcommittee, the dangers of the civil-service commission's giant 5,000,000-name file, by which "undesirables" are identified, did not. This file, which is kept up by forty-five to fifty clerks, was described by Young as a "grab-bag of hearsay evidence" based on newspaper clips, House Un-American Activities Committee reports, and Communist Party publications. It is used, he said, not only against present government employees, but also against past employees who might seek reemployment.

BY LONG ODDS, security reforms have cut deeper in our draft army than anywhere else in government. Ironically, this is because here the government has not been trying to exclude Communists and freethinkers as elsewhere, but rather to include them—at least for low-grade work details. In so doing, however, the army security men find themselves in an uncomfortable dilemma. On the one hand, if the army knowingly drafts a Communist and puts him to work and the Communist, in turn, does a good job as a soldier, then there's no honorable reason for not granting him an honorable discharge. That honorable discharges have not been forthcoming in such cases, explained one Pentagon expert, is because no Pentagon official



Partymiller in York Gazette and Daily

Under Two Flags

would knowingly sign his name to them. On the other hand, if Communists are excluded from the draft, then *ipso facto*, they become a privileged group and draft-dodgers will be encouraged to become Communists. On November 21, Defense Secretary Wilson informed the subcommittee that he would now rather risk the second evil than the first. This, he explained quite candidly, was mainly because "the manpower pool has increased" and Communists are no longer needed. However, if Communists somehow still turn up in the army under the new rules, he said, there is still no compulsion to give them honorable discharges.

By contrast with the military, where security is on the defensive, the Pentagon's program for security in industry is very much on the march. Here is a problem of direct concern not merely to government employees. If the present system that applies to some 4,000,000 government workers who have access to the Pentagon's classified data should be extended to the additional 16,000,000 workers involved in defense industry generally, as contemplated by the 1954 Butler bill, organized labor would be in serious trouble (see A Trap for Labor, *The Nation*, November 26). This possibility, which was eloquently voiced before the subcommittee by C. I. O. counsel, Joseph Rauh, is based on an actual distortion of security proceedings by the Westinghouse company to fire an official of the anti-Communist I. U. E.-C. I. O. Like many C. I. O.-union officials, this one had to associate with left-wingers of the United Electrical Workers in order to do battle with them; hence his vulnerability.

In a Democratic-controlled Congress the Butler bill is today perhaps a dead issue, despite heavy Pentagon endorsement. Yet even without legislative changes, and despite the program's now doubtful legality, industry is voluntarily adopting and extending the Pentagon's security practices, no doubt with the Westinghouse precedent in mind as well as to curry favor with the brass. When confronted with this shocking picture, Jerome D. Fenton, the official in charge, affirmed that the "results will defy criticism," though "the consequences bite deep." "My heart doesn't bleed for any Communists, I can assure you," he said in a complete evasion of the issues.

ONE CAN talk at length of Hennings's failure so far to cope with the heart of the problem—a failure which is primarily responsible for the public apathy displayed toward the hearings. Nonetheless, his very failures have served to point up the magnitude of the problem as well as the inadequacy of his legalistic solution. Hennings is the best defender of constitutional rights the New Deal Democrats have so far put forward. A red-cheeked, handsome man of 52, a former St. Louis district attorney, he has hid his liberal light under a barrel (except in the 1954 battle against the Bricker Amendment) until the very eve of his 1956 battle for reelection. Nor is his legalistic approach to be discounted insofar as it has enabled him publicly to champion about a score of hitherto unknown security risks. Perhaps the most shocking of these cases is that of Joseph Gaberman, one of the Pentagon's top experts in psychological-aptitude tests, whose branding as a security risk (he was an Amtorg chauffeur more than two decades ago) has made him totally unemployable. But unless the Democrats themselves show that they are willing to take some of the chances that they would foist upon the security chieftains (by taking a forthright stand against oppressive legislation, for instance) they are going to have to defend such victims for a long time to come.

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A Violent Quest for Repose

HENRY ADAMS. A Biography. By Elizabeth Stevenson. The Macmillan Company. $6.

By Howard Mumford Jones

HENRY ADAMS considered the movement of thought from *Mont-Saint-Michel and Chartres* to the *Education* to be a movement from unity to multiplicity. Reversing this action, his biographer must seek in multiplicity, unity. Patiently working with the ironies of a mind that made a profession of disappointment; studying the brilliance, the penetration, the learning, the pseudo-knowledge, and the guesswork of a genius forever performing before a mental mirror; estimating and penetrating the stylistic complexities of a great American writer, he must discover in this labyrinth components of temperament and mind that can be traced back to probable sources and common origins. Otherwise he remains a mere chronicler. Of course there is much to be said for the chronicler in the first instance, as is admirably evident in the sketch of Adams by Allen Johnson in the *Dictionary of American Biography*. But the publishing of Ernest Samuels's *The Young Henry Adams* in 1948 showed that the time was ripe for a larger study, and Elizabeth Stevenson has now produced it. At present it is the only thorough biography; whether it will also be the definitive biography, only time and the coming publication of the Adams family papers can tell.

Adams, says Miss Stevenson, "characteristically preferred the company of women." Not all women preferred Adams's company, but some of them did, and since she is obviously of this group, Miss Stevenson sees more deeply into the mature personality than does anybody else. Her account of Henry's childhood and youth is less excellent than later portions of her study, I think, because she wants the boy to grow up and the man to appear. She does not quote, for example, the wonderful story of young Henry being silently led to school by his grandfather, the most brilliant moment in the early pages of the *Autobiography;* she gives a perfunctory account of the Harvard years; of Henry's first trip to Europe she says: "he was the young American . . . about whom Henry James would soon be writing his earliest stories," a judgment from which I respectfully dissent. Launched on her real subject, however, she writes with wonderful acumen, full knowledge, and excellent sensibility. Her style takes on more and more the flavor of her subject, her mastery increases with the progress of the book.

The turning point for Miss Stevenson seems to be when Henry in the London legation takes to writing articles for the New York *Times* without his father's knowledge. "Unconsciously, perhaps, he was making a move toward independence of family. . . . He wanted, desperately, to be more than the son of the Minister."

THE CRUX of Adams's life was the death of Marian Hooper Adams, the central professional interest was the writing and study of history, the central intellectual concern the forging of a philosophy of man in an evolutionary universe. I shall say little of Miss Stevenson's treatment of Adams as historian. She traces the relation of husband and wife, so far as the documents permit us to see it, with grave sympathy. She notes how, as early as 1872, on the Nile, Mrs. Adams showed symptoms of depression, how Marian was "like her father, something of an anachronism—a puritan of dilettantish tastes," and how in 1880-81 a note of weariness appears "as if a tightly wound watch had begun almost imperceptibly to lose time." Implicit in the quiet happiness of the pair, a kind of tension was, I think, apparent—tension arising between the esthete and the intellectual, between the gifted amateur and the professional thinker, between a spirit hovering between austerity and delight, and a mind that regarded Thought as if Thought were a cosmic chess game. It must have been wearing to try to keep one's mind at the concert pitch demanded by that singular quintet, the Five of Hearts.

Self-destruction is usually attributed to emotional instability, but intellectual exhaustion is surely also a probable cause. Miss Stevenson cites the notes Saint-Gaudens set down as instructions for his statue:

> Adams
> Buddha
> Mental repose
> Calm reflection in contrast with the violence or force in nature.

This is cryptic; yet the contrast between Adams the activist and Buddha the contemplative is here. Does one not also have some intimation that the beloved dead had not found mental repose either in a universe of force or in a marriage in which sensibility was called upon to do the work of wit? In tragic life, God wot, affection will sometimes serve.

To argue that after his wife's death Adams devoted his talent to indicting the universe that had produced her and destroyed her is, of course, to over-simplify. Yet, once the *History* is finished, everything else of import seems to turn upon the theme of conflict between tranquility and force. The Virgin is a unity of repose, the multiplicity of the Dynamo is a multiplicity of force. Grant that in the age of Einstein the science of Adams seems naive, yet Miss Stevenson drops three illuminating remarks in this context. She writes that Adams "had grown up in an atmosphere of ardent faith . . . that science would change the world," that he studied gases and atoms "by intuition rather than knowledge," and she notes that the *Autobiography* mutes his productive years because they distracted from the general thesis that force is anarchy. Why did the objective scholar study science by intuition rather than knowledge and minimize his own achievements, except that he

HOWARD MUMFORD JONES, professor of English at Harvard University, is the author of The Pursuit of Happiness *and other books.*

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wished to cry out passionately against force and Time?

This gifted man was in some sense the child of Byron and Voltaire. There was something in him elementary as well as ironical. A hostile critic might plausibly demonstrate that, because it was outrageous of the universe to deal with Mr. and Mrs. Henry Adams as the universe had done, the scholar would condemn the universe. The rebelliousness, the self-incrimination, the irony of the mature Byron are paralleled by Adams, the principal difference being that in the American these qualities were held in restraint as judgments, not hurled at the target as weapons.

And just as Byron's passionate seeking came to a kind of repose in the Haidee episode of *Don Juan,* so in the South Seas, in Cuba, in Mexico, in any "good, rotten tropical Spanish island," Adams found momentary peace. Except that there was always the image of Robert Louis Stevenson, "rootless, declasse, exotic," to warn him against cultural instability. Miss Stevenson says somewhere: "When he stepped out of imagination of himself as an eighteenth-century Adams, he disliked his surroundings all the more" (just as Byron did), and therefore, unable either to accept or to let go, he determined to be "a sort of Cassandra, a truth teller in an inimical society, eccentric, perhaps mad, and utterly unable to leave off his discomforting thoughts."

Miss Stevenson analyzes the major works, but I think her analysis less good than her superb portrait painting. She does not, apparently, see the revealing lapse when, refusing an honorary degree from Harvard, Adams said no work of his merited it and pointed, instead, to Nicolay's and Hay's *Lincoln* as "more worthy of notice"—a strange judgment from a trained scholar, one inexplicable except on the grounds of friendship. Her treatment of the *History* has something of the air of a term paper in a graduate seminar. But this is merely to indicate that she sometimes nods. When she is completely involved with this intricate mind and more intricate personality, she could not write better or be more perspicuous. I think her *Henry Adams* is at the moment the richest and fullest portrait of the great American Enigma that we have.

With No Tragic Pose

THE WHISPERING GALLERY. By John Lehmann. Harcourt, Brace and Company. $5.

By Louis O. Coxe

THE EVENTS so crucial in the life of a man of letters born in 1907 should, by all precedent, impress a man of letters born in 1918 as trivial, wrongly analyzed or misapplied. What is less congenial to us than the immediate past, particularly that of our near-contemporaries? It seems to me one of the triumphs of Mr. Lehmann's book that the events, as he recounts and relives them, take on meaning and actuality, for the book is an honest one, unmarred on the one hand by breast-beating and cries of *mea culpa,* and on the other by efforts at self-justification. Inevitably one tends to compare *The Whispering Gallery* with Mr. Spender's *World Within World.* To do so is to adorn Mr. Lehmann's tale and to point several morals for the prepensive autobiographer. Here are no embarrassing revelations nor scandalous suggestions; we go with the author from the earliest recollections of childhood, how wonderfully Edwardian, to the eve of the second World War, through Eton and Cambridge, rubbing elbows with the great and near-great of a fascinating era. Mr. Lehmann gives us his memories and recollections with a candor that yet leaves room for a manly reticence and an aristocratic reserve that, in my opinion, make his impressions and attitudes the more cogent and appealing to a man ten years his junior and in the year 1955.

What emerges most forcibly, for one reader at any rate, is the sense of commitment thwarted by history, by the predicament of time and situation. Born into a prosperous family of considerable culture and position, the sensitive and imaginative boy finds the world he was trained to occupy changing all around him, receding from his grasp so that in the end he can stake his life and soul on literature alone, all else having failed—liberalism, the tradition, friends such as Auden and Isherwood—the defection of whom at the hour of England's crisis obviously and tragically pains Mr. Lehmann still, even in the telling. Yet one of the remarkable feats the author's integrity achieves consists in his refusal to falsify feeling in order to make more seductive his own image of himself. Whatever, and however grave, the losses he suffered, Mr. Lehmann does not pretend to having foreseen it all nor to a tragic pose; indeed, one is struck by his insistence on his own happiness and good fortune. His life at Eton shares nothing, in his telling of it, with George Orwell's *Such, Such Were The Joys;* the young John Lehmann loved the school and was apparently free to do as he pleased under the amiable rule of the late Provost M. R. James. He does not pretend that anyone warped his soul or sadistically tampered with his sexuality. One sees at last that here is the portrait of a young man who found the world out of joint indeed yet who was content to accept the doubleness of his nature and to enjoy the while he tried to do what he could for literature and literary men of his own generation.

A CERTAIN humaneness sets the tone of the book. While I for one found some of its earlier portion too usual greatly to interest me, nonetheless I found myself gradually fascinated by a tale that might well have been my own or that of many another of my age or a few years older. Bewilderment, a sense of impending disaster and of impotence before it, coupled with an enormous zest for experience and the life of the spirit: I found all these in Mr. Lehmann's book.

I hope that we get another volume soon, for beyond drawing a portrait of himself that is candid and restrained, Mr. Lehmann treats of his time and his friends with a sympathy that does not distort and an integrity that at the last puts the question to all the contemporary masters of hindsight: Could you have done any better? I was there. I saw it all. I suffered. My friends died in all those forgotten places. Can you bring them back to a world you have made new and better?

LOUIS E. COXE, professor of English at Bowdoin College, is the author of two volumes of verse and co-author of the play Billy Budd.

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Dreiser Under Our Skin

THE STATURE OF THEODORE DREISER. Edited by Alfred Kazin and Charles Shapiro. Indiana University Press. $5.

By John Lydenberg

IN 1928, just three years after the appearance of *An American Tragedy,* T. W. Whipple, one of the better critics of the twenties, wrote: "The importance of Theodore Dreiser as a writer is chiefly historical." Five years before that Sherwood Anderson had implied much the same in a piece of sentimental praise that sounded like a requiem: "The feet of Theodore are tramping through the wilderness of lies, making a path. . . . Those who follow will never have to face the road through the wilderness of Puritan denial, the road that Dreiser faced alone." From then on, reformers, radicals and conservatives seemed to regard Dreiser less as a novelist than as a symbol—a symbol of the past, of revolt, of the "liberation" of American literature.

Today we still tend to think of Dreiser first as a figure of controversy. We recall the noisy battles in which he was anathematized and applauded for his morals, or his philosophy, or his politics. His novels seemed incidental; what was important was Dreiser as a figure of cultural history. In this vein Lionel Trilling recently condemned "the doctrinaire indulgence which liberal intellectuals have always displayed toward Dreiser." Mr. Trilling was not primarily concerned with Dreiser, scarcely at all with his novels; instead he was using Dreiser as a symbol, a bludgeon with which to lambaste blundering liberals.

Is it true, then, that Dreiser's novels are dead, that his importance is chiefly historical? *The Stature of Theodore Dreiser* should help to answer the question. It is a collection of writings about Dreiser, of the analyses and criticisms that the editors deem most significant for an understanding of the author.

At first glance the book would appear to support Whipple. Many of the essays are concerned primarily with the man and his ideas; few concentrate on the novels as novels. But appearance is not reality. In most of the recent articles the authors were writing about Dreiser because to them his novels were very much alive. They had found that, as Alfred Kazin says in his introduction (one of the best things in the book), Dreiser "makes painful reading," that he "gets under our skin." He "puzzles and troubles us" as the world puzzled and troubled him. An early newspaper review of *Sister Carrie* got his quality almost as well as anyone has subsequently: "The impression is simply one of truth, and therein lies at once the strength and the horror of it."

Because Dreiser doesn't fit into neat critical categories, because he doesn't use literary devices that call for sophisticated explication, we don't know how to deal with his novels. They don't need explication. They are, annoyingly, just what they are. So when we want to talk about his novels, we don't quite know what to do and find ourselves talking about Dreiser himself, about Dreiser as a radical, or as an outsider, or as a mystic.

"Unfortunately," as Saul Bellow wrote a few years ago, "Dreiser is not very popular now." He is not popular among the advanced critics because the kind of puzzle he presents is not the kind their keys labeled symbol and myth can unlock. He will never be popular with the book-clubbers. But when the comforting Wouks of one decade are replaced by yet sleeker ones of the next, Dreiser will still be read—not alone for historical reasons, but because he is painful, disturbing, and there will always be a few people who ask of books not reassurance but life.

The Stature of Theodore Dreiser is an excellent collection. To any student of Dreiser it will prove indispensable. To anyone not familiar with this "loner" it will be illuminating and, possibly, exciting.

JOHN LYDENBERG is professor of English and of American Studies at Hobart and William Smith Colleges.

What Ought the Law?

THE MORAL DECISION. By Edmond Cahn. Indiana University Press. $5.

By William D. Rogers

MORALS, for some reason that escapes me, is an eclectic business. There are essays aplenty to marshalling science, mathematics, history, sociology and theology in support of moral theory. Professor Cahn's latest book attempts to drum the law into service.

It is a frank experiment in methodology. Cahn does not argue that the law supports any particular moral system. He does think that there is much in appellate court opinions in the way of "moral guides." He starts his quest of these with a stretch of discussion about the abstract similarities of the two subjects. According to him, there is something about morals that resembles the law. Morals are a collection of precepts and rules of action. So is the law. On the other hand, there is something in law that looks more or less like a moral order, or at least can discipline moral thinking. The law can supply drama, precision, decisiveness and responsibility to the exploration of moral questions.

However, the heart of Cahn's technique—and the bulk of the book—is the discussion of a series of extracted cases. Most of these are taken from appellate court decisions. They do raise some rather touchy questions: Who—passengers, crew, the feeble—"ought" to be thrown off an overloaded, sinking life boat in the middle of the ocean? Is a plaintiff barred from relief in a divorce proceeding if he is guilty of some philandering on his own? Can a barbershop owner sue another operator who opened a competitive shop for the sole purpose of driving the first out of business? Does Shostakovich have a right to keep his uncopyrighted music out of an anti-Soviet Hollywood film? And so on.

Cahn debates each of these posers and several others with a matchless mixture of insight and ambiguity. In the end he comes out vigorously for what he considers the moral answer in each case. What is moral to Cahn would be heresy to many.

WILLIAM D. ROGERS is a practicing attorney in Washington, D. C.

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He holds, for instance, that anyone "who really understands the moral values in marriage will applaud" a particular New Mexico decision liberalizing divorce.

The book closes with a short note on the appropriateness of legal "procedures" for analysis of moral questions. Many lawyers will be astonished to know they have been practicing morals. Not that the book tries to prove that every substantive appellate opinion puts its hand on the jugular of a moral issue. But it certainly mines a good deal of moral gold out of cases which most lawyers would think of in terms of morally-neutral questions of business, railroad negligence, copyright law or insurance policies. So far as I know, in only one field does the law frankly and openly concern itself with moral questions. That is in decisions involving application of the federal statute that requires every applicant for citizenship to show that he has displayed a "good *moral* character" for the last five years.

Most judges hate to decide these cases. In fact, a good argument could be made that the law in general draws back as much as it can from enacting moral rules and deciding issues of morality. Take the old rule that criminal insanity was to be tested by asking the jury whether the defendant knew the difference between "right" and "wrong." This is Cahn's very first illustration of the concern of the law with morals. It has just recently been abandoned by the District of Columbia Court of Appeals as a "fallacious" test.

It is misleading to dignify litigation and law office work with moral overtones. The law really has no more to teach moral debaters than any other of the humanities—in fact, I suspect, a good deal less. If it were otherwise and if the law really had a pedagogical value, lawyers and judges would have learned their lessons long ago and the law might seem somewhat less immoral and treacherous than it does.

Coming

Eleven works of fiction by native North Africans

Reviewed by Eleanor G. Knight

Painters as Draughtsmen

DRAWINGS AND WATERCOLORS. By Vincent Van Gogh. With Notes by Douglas Cooper. The Macmillan Company. $5.50.

HENRI DE TOULOUSE-LAUTREC. Drawings and Sketches in Color. Wth an Introduction by Hanspeter Landolt. The Macmillan Company. $5.50.

DRAWINGS BY THE HOLBEIN FAMILY. With an Introduction by Edmund Schilling. The Macmillan Company. $2.95.

FRANCISCO GOYA. Drawings. With an Introduction by Robert Th. Stoll. The Macmillan Company. $2.95.

HONORE DAUMIER. Drawings. With an Introduction by Jean Adhemar. The Macmillan Company. $2.95.

JACQUES-AUGUSTE-DOMINIQUE INGRES. Drawings. With an Introduction by Jacques Mathey. The Macmillan Company. $2.95.

By S. Lane Faison, Jr.

THE TITLES listed above are the most recent additions to the two series of Holbein Art Books, entitled respectively Watercolors and Pastels, and Drawing Books. The former, larger in format and containing thirty-two color plates, is the more expensive, but both series are moderately priced for what they offer. The plates in both series are excellent and the texts combine scholarship with insight. Cooper and Landolt in particular bring new understanding to artists who have already had too many books written about them (often with plates that falsify the quality of their work). Moreover, there has been a plethora of picture books on paintings, with no account given to the painters' drawings and almost none to the process by which a work of art emerges. The public thus gains an erroneous impression that the dimension of time does not exist in this art, whether in the making or in the viewing. Careful study of a master's drawings is perhaps the best corrective to this esthetic constriction, for drawings tell us directly of an artist's struggle to transform motif into art, and observation of the process provides wonderful training for that kind of looking at pictures, which, after taking much time, can ultimately arrive at painting's sense of immediacy without missing its complexity.

All of these books are beautifully made, but the one on Van Gogh deserves special praise for the care taken to keep the text-page light, competing as little as possible with the plate opposite. Advantage is taken of the fact that text and plates are printed on the same paper: Cooper dispenses with the rather

S. LANE FAISON, JR., is chairman of the Art Department at Williams College.

What WILLIAM Z. FOSTER says about—

I SPEAK MY OWN PIECE

AUTOBIOGRAPHY OF "THE REBEL GIRL"
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(Political Affairs, December, 1955)

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artificial distinction between introduction and specific commentary, and when he requires more space to develop a thought he takes up to three pages instead of being limited arbitrarily to the page opposite the plate concerned.

IT IS especially important to approach Van Gogh and Toulouse-Lautrec through their drawings and studies. Van Gogh turned to oil painting only after at least four years of work in drawing and watercolor, and in these media he worked out the basis of his later style. Lautrec, as Landolt constantly emphasizes, was essentially a draughtsman, despite the expressive force of his color. Economy of statement, not high finish, is the clue to his power, and on more than one occasion the quick notation was scarcely outstripped by the more extended oil version. Study of Lautrec's sketches also clarifies the significance of his posters in his total work: these have become, in a sense, much too well known, and Lautrec regarded them as a special problem not at the heart of his struggle to lift Appearance up to Reality. Among the many interesting plates which Landolt has selected, four show us how Lautrec proceeded in lithography from black-and-white to color, via a watercolor study brushed on top of an uncolored impression.

Selected New Books

Belle Lettres

YOUNG HENRY JAMES, 1843-1870. By Robert C. Le Clair. Bookman Associates. $6.50. This biography uses lengthy quotations from letters and material gathered at the scenes of James's travels to give an especially copious background to the years leading up to his first attempts at writing. Excellent in itself, it adds little to what is already known about James's complicated childhood and youth.

THE LITERARY SYMBOL. By William York Tindall. Columbia. $4.50. According to Mr. Tindall, a literary symbol is an exact reference to something indefinite whose value lies, not in its referential power, but in its capacity for embodying meaning in itself. Symbolism, he says, is a mode of thought that is both evocative and revelatory, but ultimately mysterious. He examines the use of symbols in many modern works, showing, among other things, the influence of the Hellenistic symbolist tradition of Hermes Trismegistus on Baudelaire, Yeats, and Joyce.

OUR SAMOAN ADVENTURE. By Fanny and Robert Louis Stevenson. Edited by Charles Neider. Harper. $4. The diary of Stevenson's wife, rescued from oblivion by an enterprising scholar, gives a delightful account, in lively, if unimaginative prose, of her life in Samoa. Interpolated passages from Stevenson's letters make the book an absorbing posthumous collaboration on the primitive housekeeping, superstitious natives, and Graustarkian politics that complicated the couple's Samoan exile. JACOB KORG

Philosophy

HISTORY OF THE WARFARE OF SCIENCE WITH THEOLOGY IN CHRISTENDOM. By Andrew D. White. Braziller. $5. A timely reissue of this classic historical treatment (1895) of the conflict between theological belief and scientific discovery. Numerous fields from geology and medicine to linguistics and Biblical criticism are historically canvassed for their evidence of the dogmatic intolerance and persecution that opposed the growth of scientific knowledge. The chapter titles have a flair even in our age of slogans—for example, From Genesis to Geology, From Miracles to Medicine—but it is the detail which is really gripping. It is interesting to recall that the book was stimulated by religious attacks on the founding of Cornell University as a non-sectarian institution (White was its president), and that White himself saw the villain as dogmatic theology, from which religion had to be freed to go hand in hand with science.

THE PHENOMENOLOGY OF MORAL EXPERIENCE. By Maurice Mandelbaum. Free Press. $5. A keen theoretical analysis of selected ethical issues, of special interest to philosophers and others who want to probe sensitively into the qualities of their moral consciousness. Considerable attention is given to the sources of moral controversies and the extent to which they can be resolved. The author, while regarding moral experience as a natural phenomenon, believes that it is wrongly interpreted as a reckoning of value consequences. He pulls us back to the direct scrutiny of the experience, using an approach comparable to that employed in Gestalt psychology.

ABRAHAM EDEL

THEATRE

Harold Clurman

THE THEATRE at its best is either festival or rite. The upstart realistic theatre is only superficially a challenge to this axiom. Chekhov is a poet, Ibsen a priest. The theatre which merely reports or attempts literally to hold the mirror up to nature is a hundred times less interesting than nature. Because for many years the theatre's festivities and solemnities had become hollow and sleazy, lacking true gaiety or inspired meaning, the naturalistic theatre acquired a certain fascination. The theatre was manacled by a false realism as cheap and trite as the most pompous or meretricious theatricalism.

There are distinct signs of change among us. Many of the outstanding successes of this season are poetic and theatrical plays, ritualistic or romp-like in character. *Tiger at the Gates, The Lark, The Chalk Garden,* and now *The Matchmaker.* The last is a creative adaptation of a play by the "classic" Austrian dramatist, Johann Nestroy (1801-62) which Thornton Wilder wrote in 1938 for Max Reinhardt and called *The Merchant of Yonkers.* It was revised and revived at the Edinburgh Festival of 1954, presented last season at the Haymarket Theatre in London and is now triumphant in New York at the Royale.

Reinhardt's production was impeded by his unfamiliarity with American theatre custom—although his production brought us some delightful settings by Boris Aronson. *The Matchmaker* is directed by Tyrone Guthrie, whom nothing impedes. The most robust and imaginative of British directors—actually he is Irish—Guthrie is a playboy in

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the healthiest sense of the word. His art has enormous verve, a kind of Tyl Eulenspiegel prankfulness combined with a gusty *disinvolture,* unmindful of decorum or even propriety.

The direction of *The Matchmaker* strains a bit in the first act, because Guthrie excels at movement rather than in sentiment, and the play at that point needs warmth rather than impetus, but once the plot begins to twist and turn in its crazy cavortings, the show becomes a fetching marathon of joyous inconsequentialities and sweeping slapstick.

THOUGH the entire cast is excellent, the evening is largely Guthrie's and Ruth Gordon's. Miss Gordon has never given a more satisfying performance. Her clowning is impish and abandoned, at once sharp and zestful. She seems to be improvising all the time, but having seen *The Matchmaker* twice, I know how much shrewd theatrical calculation there is in her spontaneity. She has herself a ball in the part, and nobody seems to deserve it more.

The play itself is a pure farce, and therefore without verifiable content. Its meaning is in the doing of it, the sheer physical exhilaration of its theatrical pattern. Yet it distills a certain poetry and charm. There is a kind of unsentimental Saroyanesque cheerfulness about it. Saroyan tried to be hearty and gay in the midst of depression; so there is a sneaking little ache in his work which he tried his best to hide. Wilder's play reflects a time of prosperity and innocence. His style—clean, crisp, cool, graceful, all smiles ("The streets of New York are full of cabhorses winking at each other") shows no trace of shadow. A kind of happy chromo brightness—abetted by Tanya Moisewitsch's settings and costumes which for all their riot manage to be discreet—invites us to pack up our troubles and think back to that old New York—"Father's" eighties—where, so it pleases us to fancy, we might have been truly carefree.

It is a happy condition to be in for two hours or so, but in all honesty it must be said that nowadays not everyone is capable of this sort of levity. I noticed a few people in the audience whom it made restless. There are some who are too attached to the prose of their torment.

Art

A. L. Chanin

EVERY FEW YEARS the Museum of Modern Art presents an exhibition of new acquisitions. Since this museum is the leading taste-setter in contemporary art, the bequests and gifts it accepts, and the art it purchases outright, are variously scrutinized by public, artists and critics. Aside from being admired for whatever artistic appeal, the new items are checked for the evidence they can give on changes of trend, on the rise and fall of individual reputations. And the museum is judged for how well it is filling the gaps in its permanent collection, how fruitfully it is pursuing its search for new talent.

The current exhibition (on view to February 19), offers a wide range. In some fifty pieces, it moves from a world-famous "old master" of moderns, Monet, who was born in 1840, to a young American sculptor, Elbert Weinberg, born in 1928. Fourteen countries are represented, including Colombia, Canada, Brazil and Australia. A number of artists enter the museum for the first time, while star names like Picasso and Matisse (in small examples: a little canvas and two sculptures) are old, revered tenants on West 53rd Street.

The major addition to the collection is Monet's huge, late impressionist canvas, *Water Lilies,* circa 1916-1923. Paradoxically, this is at once the most old-fashioned, the least fashionable and the most daring of the acquisitions. For it has been a long time since late impressionism, with its soft interweavings of color and blurred, fluid forms, has stirred any enthusiasm among collectors and museums. The more structural art of the late post-impressionists and of the cubists, and a swarm of other traditions, almost relegated this last outburst of a great movement to the dust-bin of modern art. But the spread of a school of abstract art that works in free, fluid forms and soft color, is drawing new attention to impressionism's break with sharp contour and precise form, to its relaxed mingling of drifting color units.

A bold and canny purchase at this time, the Monet demonstrates that a great tradition retains and projects vitality, and can infuse its vision into other areas of style. Yet it would be a mistake to view this canvas primarily in terms of what it anticipates. It is what it is as well, an epic of impressionism, one of a series which preoccupied the half-blind painter in his last years. One painter has described them rather grandiloquently as the "Sistine Chapel of Impressionism." The museum's canvas fuses radiant clouds and foliage within the rippling reflections of a pool. Alive with swift-moving brush strokes, luminous color and subtle form and space relation-

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ship it is an endlessly absorbing composition.

The Monet oil re-evaluates an old master. A group of German Expressionist oils enlarges our view of the tumultuous panorama of present art. Emil Nolde's lyric and emotional *Christ among the Children,* 1910; Schmidt-Roffluft's *Pharisees,* 1912; and the late Max Beckmann's brooding *Descent from the Cross,* 1917, with its Gothic-like attenuations of Christ's figure, stress a vital movement still largely absent from American museums.

Sir Thomas Beecham Conducting, by Walter Sickert, who died in 1942, brings a leading English painter for the first time into an American museum collection. Its muted tones, the odd balance of a figure in space, its informal movements, express a selective realism, tempered by a decorative harmony, which links Sickert to his years with Degas.

There are also several impressive newcomers. The Australian, Sidney Nolan, paints a stark, arresting interpretation of the death of an Australian Robin Hood in *After Glenrowan Siege.* Elbert Weinberg's beechwood carving, *Ritual Figure,* is a fresh variation on the traditional blowing of the ram's horn, or Shofar; it is also, points out the sculptor, "reminiscent of the horns blown at the battle of Jericho. . ." and plays a "general symbolic role, a call to dedication." A British sculptor presents a witty, maze-like iron wire form, *Men Fishing from a Pier.* Joseph Cornell, who composes directly with beguiling objects, is represented by an arrangement of glass ice cubes and a necklace in a box, *Taglioni's Jewel Casket.* A young Canadian, Paul-Emile, paints a vigorous abstraction, *La Guignolee.*

And the museum has strengthened its collection of established names, including Soutine, Leger, Graham Sutherland, Rufino Tamayo, Baziotes, van Dongen, Dufy, Noguchi.

THE BEST LOOK so far at Jackson Pollock's work is on view at the Sidney Janis Gallery (to December 31). Sixteen paintings provide a glance at his last fifteen years. Taken together, the paintings reveal a serious, intent painter, slowly and stubbornly working out a contribution to abstraction which has influenced not only American painters, but Canadian and European as well. Pollock's best examples are powerful, rich and bold.

In dribbling paint down his canvases—a reason for much uninformed laughter—Pollock relies on automatism, on intuitive response to accident. Yet intuition is never pure chance; it is governed by a specific personality. All the paintings, early or recent, express a coherent esthetic outlook.

A characteristic Pollock painting—take *Convergence,* 1952—is an intricate, labyrinthian maze of lustrous color, meshing and weaving in and out and across the canvas, combining into sweeping calligraphic movements and appealing textures. The impact is lyrical—not a delicate lyricism, but robust and exuberant. Whereas such paintings were seen some years ago as violent and stark, they now assume an ingratiating, almost serene mood.

Records

B. H. Haggin

THE FOUR Boccherini string quartets on Columbia ML-5047—Opp. 1 No. 2, 40 No. 2, 58 Nos. 2 and 4—and the playing of them by the New Music Quartet make this record one of the events of the year. The quartets are excellent examples of Boccherini's engagingly individual and fresh inventive writing; the performances exhibit a technical, musical and ensemble incandescence beyond anything I can recall hearing recently in the playing of other groups. The New Music Quartet plays with the beauty and transparency of blended tone that is so extraordinary in the Quartetto Italiano, but in addition with an energy and force that not only are exciting in these Boccherini pieces but—as I have heard in the concert hall—produce superb performances of Beethoven and Schubert. It is extremely regrettable, therefore, that with Beethoven, Schubert, Mozart and Haydn recorded for Columbia by the Budapest Quartet, all that this company gives the New Music Quartet to record is Schumann and Mendelssohn, contemporary works, and out-of-the-way items like Hugo Wolf's Quartet and now the Boccherini pieces. One can only hope that Victor will have the major classical quartet literature recorded by the finest string quartet now operating.

Mozart's Divertimento K.287 for strings and horns, which Toscanini performed with the NBC Symphony on Victor LM-13 with enchanting inflection of the fast movements and a powerful shaping of the Adagio as a great vocal declamation, is played on London LL-1239 by members of the Vienna Octet. This performance of chamber-music dimensions is paced and phrased well, and has only one inadequacy; the solo violin lacks the power of tone and style required by the Adagio.

The performances of Mozart's trios K.496 and 502 on Haydn Society 9001 offers piano-playing by Lili Kraus that is too percussively self-assertive and violin-playing by Boskovsky that is too pallid in tone and style, with only the less important cello part played with beautiful tone and phrasing by Huebner.

Bloch's Quintet for piano and strings, a comparatively early work, is one that loses none of its impressiveness after thirty years, and in fact seems to me to be his finest achievement. MGM 3239 offers an outstanding performance by Johana Harris and the Walden Quartet, which is superbly reproduced.

The highly individual, powerful and strange idiom of Janacek is heard in his "Mladi" ("Youth") Suite for wind sextet, and his Concertino for piano and a group of seven strings and winds—the first work being for me the more impressive of the two. "Mladi" is excellently performed by the Philadelphia Woodwind Quintet (Kincaid, de Lancie, Gigliotti, Schoenbach and Jones of the Philadelphia Orchestra) and Lester, bass clarinet; the second by Firkusny with Kincaid, Gigliotti, Schoenbach, Jones, Krachmalnick, Madison and Lifschey.

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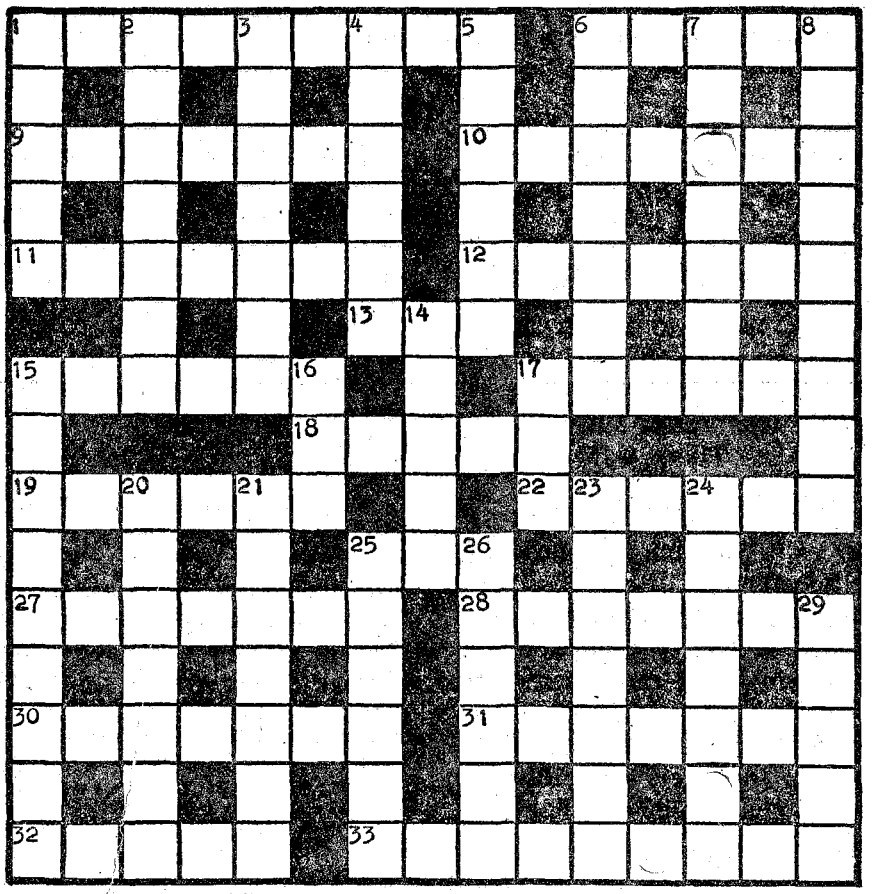
Crossword Puzzle No. 651

BY FRANK W. LEWIS



ACROSS

1 The sort of cruise extortionists go on. (9)
6 Reject a stimulus to a direction. (5)
9 Fustian. (7)
10 Certainly not a pacifistic organization! (7)
Was he responsible for the sales boom? (7)
No, nothing like fuel is brought back by him who distrusted the wooden horse. (7)
19, 8 down Implying a purchaser could have gone for their short fruit supply, but not for long. (3,2,4,2,7)
A third of the frontier certainly makes it obvious. (6)
A man who might treat one after another, by thes sound of it. (6)
Give up, one way or another. (5)
See 13 across.
2 He leaves home by degrees (to avoid the shock?). 1-5)
25 One of the 4 family made it hot for some people. (3)
27 Indian or French animal. (7)
28 This variety of Redbill could scarcely be trained! (3-4)
30 This month, everything is set up. (7)
31 His rank is eighth, when it comes avatars. (8)
32 Is the oration extremely short, at least in proportion? (5)
33 and 26 down 15 of verse. (3,6,6)

DOWN

1 Stuffed dates. (5)
2 Like a government act, usually. (2,1,4)
3 Such things are peculiarly placed. (7)
4 A bad year to look up, and certainly not one for fire prevention. (6)
5 Are they on the verge of flight? (6)
6 Its serving was not necessarily confined to the Round Table. (7)
7 Let go! It seems tight! (7)
8 See 13 across.
14 and 16 II? (3,2,3,)
15 Tears all over the city with one? (4,5)
16 See 14 down.
17 Eddie's wife could be a big help to him! (3)
20 Stubborn, like a rather tough crowd. (4-3)
21 A rather shaky performance? (7)
23 In a poor condition, yet rising to be a composer. (7)
24 Perhaps a general sort of alarm, but all quiet within. (7)
25 Lock us up, in a different case. (The bill will be rather large!) (6)
26 See 33 across.
29 Arrange for a hanging. (5)

SOLUTION TO PUZZLE 650

ACROSS: 5 JUMBUCK; 9 BEARPIT; 10 RELABEL; 11 ABELE; 12 UNSNARLED; 15 SUPREME; 18, 17, 13, 14 18 THE MAN WHO CAME TO DINNER; 21 OOLITIC; 26 IMPORTUNE; 28 INNER; 29 and 20 NEAR AND FAR; 30 LEEWARD; 31 RAT RACE; 32 RESPECT. DOWN: 1 and 1 across TO BEAT THE BAND; 2 ENAMEL; 3 APPLE CART; 4 DETRUDE; 5 JURISTS; 6 MALTA; 7 UNBELIEF; 18 KILLDEER; 16 PHARISEES; 19 and 23 ELEPHANTS EAR; 22 COULD BE; 23 STELLAR; 24 INHALE; 25 CREDIT; 27 RIATA.

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Morton Sobell is in Alcatraz for 30 Years on NO EVIDENCE!

"I AM INNOCENT." These are the words of Morton Sobell, scientist and father of two children, condemned to 30 years in Alcatraz for "conspiracy to commit espionage."

Morton Sobell was tried with Julius and Ethel Rosenberg in 1951. Although Sobell was called an "atom spy" by the prosecution, Judge Kaufman admitted to Sobell in court: "The evidence in the case did not point to any activity on your part in connection with the atomic bomb project."

Unbelievable as it may seem, there was not a shred of evidence that Sobell committed espionage. There was only the word of one accuser—prosecution witness Max Elitcher. Judge Kaufman said in his charge to the jury: "If you do not believe the testimony of Max Elitcher as it pertains to Sobell, then you must acquit the defendant Sobell."

Can Elitcher be believed? During cross examination Elitcher admitted that he had falsified a loyalty oath and feared a perjury indictment. In the opinion of radio commentator and author Elmer Davis, the testimony of Elitcher and the prosecution witnesses against the Rosenbergs is unreliable. After reading the new book *The Judgment of Julius and Ethel Rosenberg,* Elmer Davis wrote the publishers: "Assuming that the record is here correctly cited (and I have no reason to suppose that it is not) I cannot believe the testimony of Elitcher and the Greenglasses, or much if any of that of Harry Gold."

"Will you help win justice for my husband and for America?"

—Asks Helen Sobell, Morton Sobell's Wife.

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• Funds are urgently needed for Morton Sobell's legal appeals and to help circulate the facts throughout the country. Contribute as generously as you can.

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Did Morton Sobell's Trial Meet the Standards of American Justice?

DR. HAROLD C. UREY, atomic scientist and Nobel Prize winner: "The integrity of justice as it is administered in the United States is at stake . . . Mr. Sobell was not properly tried and the verdict and sentence were not justified."

U. S. SENATOR WILLIAM LANGER: "I pledge that everything I can do as a member of the Judiciary Committee of the U.S. Senate will be done to see that Sobell gets justice."

JUDGE JEROME N. FRANK of the Circuit Court of Appeals in a dissenting opinion: ". . . There was error, in this respect, which requires that Sobell be given a new trial."

WALDO FRANK, novelist and essayist: "Sobell is a symbol of our responsibility, and of our danger, of the tragic danger to America if we permit this injustice to be done."

JUDGE PATRICK H. O'BRIEN, Detroit, Mich.: ". . . In accordance with our inheritance as a liberty-loving nation, I urge the immediate release of Morton Sobell."

CAREY McWILLIAMS, The Nation: "Apart from the fact that Elitcher was 'on the hook' for having previously falsified an affidavit, his testimony is inherently incredible."

NANCY F. WECHSLER, New York Post: "Whether Sobell should have been convicted on the meagre record against him . . . whether the tactics of the prosecution or the demeanor of the Judge impaired the fairness of the proceedings, whether the defendants were convicted and sentenced on a record which might not have produced the same results in calmer times—all these are real issues which call for honest appraisal."

WARREN K. BILLINGS, who was framed with Tom Mooney and spent 23 years in prison: "The district attorney threatened me that if I didn't testify against Tom Mooney he would hang Mooney and me too. They let Morton Sobell know that if he didn't testify against the Rosenbergs, he would rot in Alcatraz. But Sobell didn't have anything to testify any more than I had."

PROF. STEPHEN S. LOVE, professor of law, Northwestern University: "The 30-year sentence imposed upon Morton Sobell is a blight upon the reputation of American justice."

For more information . . . Write to the Committee to Secure Justice for Morton Sobell, 940 Broadway, New York City, for more facts. Available now: Texts of statements by Dr. Harold C. Urey, Senator William Langer, Waldo Frank, and Warren K. Billings . . . . . **The Judgment of Julius and Ethel Rosenberg,** definitive story of the Rosenberg-Sobell trial by John Wexley (672 pages). . . . The full eight-volume trial transcript ($6).

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